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THE LARGE FAMILY SYSTEM—A RESEARCH REPORT*

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CURRENT thinking concerning child and personality development has become so family-minded that it even counts its tasks in terms of families rather than of children; this in spite of the obvious fact that a family with twelve children is twelve times as important statistically as a family with one child. Examination of census data on types of families by size will reveal the contrast that has just been made. Of all households (35,087,440) enumerated in 1940, only 2.2 per cent (765,560) had six or more related children under eighteen years of age. Reckoning in terms of household units, families of such size seem relatively unimportant. Counting in terms of children, however, a total of 5,134,159, or 13 per cent of all children under 18, were found in these families. To put it another way, one out of every 46 families had six or more children under eighteen years of age, but almost one out of every seven children were reared in families of such size. If the same comparison is made for households with five or more related children under 18, the percentage of all households is 4.2 but the percentage of

children found in these households is 22.1. This might be compared with the fact that 19 per cent of all children under 18 were enumerated in households with but one related child, and with 25.8 per cent of all children in households with two related children under 18 years of age.[1] Comparable data for 1950 are not available at the present writing. It is anticipated that they may change, but not materially alter, the relative proportions prevailing in 1940. Obviously, then, the large family is more important, as a family situation in the development of American children, than has been generally appreciated. It was this conclusion which led to the formulation, in 1948, of a pilot study of the large family, with particular reference to its role in the field of child development, as one of the research projects of the William T. Carter Foundation at the University of Pennsylvania. This paper is a first report on this pilot study.

THE FAMILIES IN BRIEF SUMMARY

Twenty-five families are included in this study. Eighteen of them are Protestants, six are Roman Catholic and one is Jewish. Fifteen are native born white of native born parentage, six are native born white of foreign born or mixed parentage, and four are

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[1] Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Special Report of 1940 Census. Types of Families, table 5.

foreign born. Residentially, they range from New England to North Carolina: all east of the Mississippi. Seventeen are small town families, six are city products, and two are farm families. By father's occupation, they represent considerable diversity, with the majority in the lower rather than the upper half of the occupational hierarchy. By size, all but one of the families had six or more children; eight have ten or more children. The 25 families had a total of 222 children, of whom 121 were boys and 101 were girls. The children range in age from two years to fifty-three.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

Two persons have collaborated in the study to date. One, of male sex, is the older of two children; the other, a woman, is the product of a family of twelve, and is the oldest of ten children. The methods utilized have consisted of the following: (a) the formal recording of basic data concerning the families; (b) written analyses of the families, centering around 12 suggested topics, furnished by a sibling member or members of the families; (c) non-directed interviews with the informants. These interviews have been highly informal, and were repeated as need for information and willingness to contribute it have warranted. In the case of 21 families, there has been one informant; in four cases, more than one.

Three conclusions concerning methodology have emerged thus far. One is the concept of *the interacting size of the family*, meaning the numbers of persons living together within the household at a given time. This concept is important because the interacting size varies often from the number of siblings ever born, and/or of other persons who have ever lived in the household. One reason for this is the distribution in point of time of the birth of the siblings. In one of our families, for example, with 14 siblings, four older children had left home and married before the last two were born; whereas in another family, seven siblings were born within nine years, so that all lived together for a number of years. For many purposes of sociological analysis, size of immediate family does not consist of the total number of parents and siblings ever born, but the number of persons living together at any given time. A large

family partakes in this respect of the nature of an audience at the reading of a scientific paper: the number is fluid and changes at irregular rates and times. Or, it resembles the travelling personnel of a transcontinental pullman car, with passengers boarding and alighting at various points enroute.

A second conclusion is that a family situation does not consist primarily of a number of concrete facts, but rather of a series of viewpoints which change from one person to another, and from time to time. Many concrete facts about a family remain the same, but the shadow which they cast varies with time and the place of the observer. In studying the internal life of a family the order of birth of the informant is highly important. Concretely and tangibly, a family is made up of people and things; psychologically and socially, it consists of attitudes and relationships, which are subtle often and change with varying degrees of rapidity.

Third, in our methodological evaluations, the chief reliance is upon relatively free associational writing for those persons who write readily, and the non-directive interview in all other cases. Persons differ markedly in their ability to verbalize, particularly about intimate aspects of their lives. Some can do so best on paper, others via the conversational route. For some items of information, the formal questionnaire method is permissable, and we have used it to some extent; but for an understanding of complex human situations, other methods are preferred. We have indicated elsewhere the main reliances in our study of family life.[2]

Twenty-five cases is too small a number to have any statistical significance, and our findings thus far, if one may designate them as such, rather resolve themselves into a set of hypotheses which it is hoped to test in a more pretentious study now under active contemplation. These hypotheses cover a wide range but, taken as a whole, they may be organized into one fundamental proposition: namely, that the large family involves a distinct way of living. In other words, there is a large family system just as there is a small family system.

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[2] James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, *Ritual in Family Living*, Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950, Chapter X.

THE SMALL FAMILY SYSTEM

The phrase "The Small Family System" was made a part of the sociological literature with the appearance, in 1913, of a small book by that title, authored by Mr. C. V. Drysdale.[3] It was used originally to identify family living involving some degree of contraceptive sophistication and birth limitation. One could scarcely discuss this kind of family life, however, without following the implications of family limitation, both within the field of family behavior and for the social movements in the larger society. In the years since, the phrase has come to be applied to a way of family life with definite characteristics, practices and values.

Most of the characteristics of the small family system are matters of general agreement. Planning is the substance of its procedure: planning of size; of the time and spacing of the birth of the children; of the emphases in child rearing; of the main objectives in education, with careful reference to its status achieving and status promoting possibilities; and of programs for subsequent careers. Parenthood is intensive rather than extensive, with professional care for the physical and mental health of the child. Quite often this system involves careers for mothers, in some cases before the birth of the children, in many cases after the child bearing period is over. Such careers may involve regular employment or social and civic activities.

The implication of all this for the child is a very considerable emphasis upon individual development. Not only is all this planning directed toward his development, but the smallness of the family group permits him early to participate in its discussions and decisions, to have a voice in group matters, to be allowed to express his opinion, to make demands. Democracy in family life is in considerable measure a correlate of its small size. Again, family planning, motivated so largely by hopes for the development of its child members, has other implications. It involves a considerable degree of cooperative relationship between parent and child. The child is the hope of the family plan, the essence of good parent-child relationships is

to have the child voluntarily cooperate rather than to be high pressured into the family program. Small family parents take recourse to books and courses on "child psychology", the better to understand children and promote such cooperation.

A further implication of the small family system is the constant sidewise look by the parents, measuring and comparing their children with others in the same residential area, the same social class or clique, or the same school. A third implication is the constant pressure, often to a degree making for pathologies of behavior, upon the child to measure up to the family level of expectation. Fourth is the implication that all these disciplines and pressures upon the child come from parents, and, due to the father's absence from home for a large part of the day, they come largely from the mother. Naturally, there is little discipline from other siblings. This leads to the next point, that the child in the small family system grows up in relative isolation, in the sense that he has direct, vital and intimate relations with very few people, and, now that several generations have passed since small families have come into vogue, the same thing has been true in many cases of his parents, and even his grandparents. Most of the people the children contact in intimate relations are adults, and these adults are engrossed in their own programs and plans, save as the children are involved in them. This results in an intensification of intimate relations with a few people, with the inevitable result that pathological forms of them come to develop.[4] The inevitable consequence of this is that the child's resentments, such as he will develop, are all directed against the same person or persons.[5] One final aspect requires attention. The small group accentuates the relationship of members to each other, and this is particularly true if the size of the group is three, for it inevitably creates a two against one alignment. In the one child family, this

[3] C. V. Drysdale, *The Small Family System*, New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1913.

[4] W. I. Thomas in W. F. Dummer, *The Unconscious*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1927, pp. 156–157.

[5] For a suggestive analysis of this and related points, the reader is referred to an article by Sidonie M. Gruenberg in the May, 1947, issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

takes a variety of forms, but most commonly it is the child and one parent against the other parent. This involves frequently a competition between father and mother for the favor of the child, with resultant patterns of unwise parental behavior.

In summary, the small family rests upon the ideas of planning, individualization, democratic cooperation, social isolation and intensive pressures. The small family system is a quality system, chiefly at the middle class level. Its driving force is one of ambition, in an open class system; its social justification, if one may thus speak of it, is that it represents an adjustment to a rapidly changing society, with its train of attendant insecurities.

SELECTED HYPOTHESES RE THE LARGE FAMILY

Emphasis has been given to the general features of the small family system to throw into clearer relief the features of the large family system, as formulated in our hypotheses. Virtually every aspect of family life seems different in the large family. And this is perhaps the place to point out the far reaching implications of this statement. If our hypotheses are true, and if the family is as important in conditioning the life of the individual as has been generally assumed, then the large family system produces an entirely different personality type. And if this is true, then the shift from the large to the small family system involves no less than a fundamental change in the type of personality produced. This gives rather pointed significance to the hypotheses of this study, to a consideration of a few of which we now turn.

1. The large family may be planned, too. A surprising proportion of our families seem to be, not as to specific number but for general size. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the motives and factors that affect family size. However, since so many of the past studies in this field have taken the form of a statistical exercise in the identification of some one or other factor, mention might be made of our own hypotheses. First, the motivation involved in bringing human beings into the world is more a projection of a person's philosophy of life into the future, than of a specific statistical circumstance. Such a philosophy, whether worthy, rational, or the reverse of these, is the product of past experience, plus the hope of the future. Life unfolds in terms of the whole rather than as particles making up an aggregate. All life is dominated by a dynamic cohesiveness, in which the past, present, and future are indivisibly related.[6] It is quite true, of course, that the working out of this philosophy depends upon the technical aids known to a person. In this case, this means his degree of contraceptive sophistication.

Second, our study suggests that there is an individual rather than a husband-wife attitude toward family size. The past literature seems to assume that it is the attitude of the married pair which constitutes the unit for study, due perhaps to the fact that past investigations have dealt largely with small families in which some degree of family planning is accepted by both parents. In the case of the large families in this study, one is impressed with differences, and often decided ones, in the attitudes of the two parents toward family size. In one of our families, for example, the mother is proud of her progeny scattered about, but the father will not take his children to town because he is ashamed that there are so many. In another case, the father sees his eleven children as living proofs of his prowess, while the mother slyly hopes that our study will reveal other ways of satisfying men like him.

2. When, as, and if the large family is not planned, it tends to develop certain patterns of an active acceptance of fate. In fact, one of the things which early strikes one about large families is the tendency to take many crises, especially minor ones, in stride. This is true much more than in small families, perhaps for two main reasons: one, the fact that crises occur so much more frequently, and, second, that they are shared in by so many more persons. For example, the spilling of ink on a table cloth becomes, in the small family, a major crisis, with father, mother and child involved. All three work on the mess, with the parents doing the major part. The same incident, in a

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[6] Marshall C. Greco, *Group Life*, The Philosophical Library, New York, 1950, Chapter II.

large family, leaves father undisturbed with the evening paper and mother intent on her sewing. The child who spilled the ink wipes it up, aided perhaps by another child. So many minor anxieties and crises occur that children, and parents, in large families develop immunity against all but the major casualties.

Large family living, then, makes for adjustment to the changing vicissitudes of a realistic world. Things are always happening in a large family, its members live in an ever changing milieu, so that they are under the necessity of adjusting repeatedly to changes in role, in status, in responsibilities, in group and individual circumstances, and in possibilities of individual development. Since there is less change within the small family our comparison suggests that while the small family system represents a group adjustment to social change, the large family system is the best training ground for it.

3. One of our main hypotheses is that the large family emphasizes the group rather than the individual. What one can do, as a large family member, depends upon what others do, and plan to do. Most large families operate on a close economic margin, if margin at all, which means that economic necessity makes cooperation a virtue. At every turn, it is not only one's own efforts, but the modifying forces of the behavior of other family members that determines what one can do or cannot do. The condition of the hand-me-down that must be worn, the acquiring of a new dress, the use of the living room for your date, of being able to go to town alone, of getting to sleep early, of taking a night school course— all these are grist of the group mill.

Once the central importance of the group concept is recognized, many implied emphases in large family living become apparent. Two of these will be touched upon here. First, the larger the family group becomes, the more internal organization and dominance of some one or two persons appear. A large group of persons, of differing ages and sexes, living within a limited space, on a limited income, and with limited living facilities of various kinds, requires some degree of organization, administration, authoritarian control, and executive direction. This may mean a dominant role for the father,

the mother, or occasionally for an older sibling. The degree of dominance developed and accepted may vary considerably, but some degree seems inevitable. Our present hypothesis is that the extent to which such executive dominance appears is a correlate of size, other things being equal. This would tend to suggest that the earlier authoritarian type of family was the product, at least in part, of the large family system, creating an authoritarianism that was then transferred to the larger society, just as the small family system emphasizes individual development and a democratically minded society. Along with this authoritarian type of family go certain complementary virtues of behavior. Conformity is valued above self expression. Cooperation is needed more than individualism. Listening is the rule rather than talking, which suggests that the current cocktail party pattern of every one talking and no one listening may be a by-product of the small family system.

A second implication of the group concept, as applied to the large family system, is the specialization of role and function which occurs among its members. Apparently the degree of such specialization correlates with increase in the size of the group. Durkheim developed the underlying principle of this in his analysis of the division of labor, pointing out that the larger the number of people living together, the greater the division of labor and specialization of function there is apt to be.[7]

Specialization, within the large family, takes many forms. Earlier, it was quite customary in many large families to direct members, especially male members, into differing occupations. Thus, one son might be given to the church, another to the army, another to the law. Considering, however, only the more prosaic forms of specialization, we find it universal in our families. One aspect is to be found in the tasks assigned customarily to different members. Such assignments are based partly on specialized aptitudes or skills, partly on differences of interest, and partly on age and sex differentials.

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[7] George Simpson, *Emile Durkheim on the Division of Labor in Society,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, Book II.

From these assignments to specialized tasks within the family, and the siblings' adjustment to them, emerge the unity of larger patterns of behavior. Thus,. in one of our families, one girl was the household drudge; another, a son, the father substitute; another, the "gadder-about"; another, the· silent stubborn one, with reputed deep emotions, whom it was best to leave alone; a fifth, the whiner, who tried always to shirk his duties; the next, the informer, who carried tales to parents and kinfolk.

This specialization of role among the siblings is particularly important in a large family, not only because the degree of specialization increases as a correlate of size, but also because the number of siblings limits the range of choice of those lower in the order of birth. Only the oldest child has a relatively unlimited choice. Since no one wants to duplicate the role of another sibling, each succeeding child's choice is limited by the choices of his predecessors in the order of birth. Specialized roles are preempted by the older siblings: they come to be firmly held with the progress of time. Thus the younger children in a large family may have greater difficulty in finding satisfactory roles within the family group. Also, they may be under greater temptation to develop patterns of rebellion. At any rate, our hypothesis is that such specialization of role, and the individual response to it, comes early in life for members of large families; that such experience is of importance in shaping the patterned form of adjustment to life; and that both the early acceptance of assigned role in the group, or rebellion to it, are important determinants in shaping the personality. Often, the subsequent effort to escape an early assigned role and transfer to another becomes one of life's basic drives.

4. Durkheim points out still another principle of value in the study of the large family system. The greater the degree of specialization, he says, the greater the degree of interdependence that comes about. This in turn demands *consensus,* a term and idea which Durkheim has contributed to Sociology. It is this *consensus* which gives unity to the group, binds the members together, and "the greater the diversity of relations . . ., the more it creates links which attach the individual to the group."[8] It is our hypothesis that the larger the family group, that is, the more persons are living together in a family, the more family consensus tends to develop, the stronger its hold upon individual members becomes, and the stronger the position of the father as its directive symbol becomes.

5. Discipline in the large family may be exercised in the name of the constitutional monarch, but much of it is executed by the siblings. Children in a large family discipline each other, adjustments must be made to peers, not primarily to adults. Competitions between siblings are life-like, not "protected." The disciplinary pressures are often more subtle than overt. The group is impatient with non-conforming members; there is ridicule for the odd one; there is disdain for the vexing transgressor.

The complement to this sibling-rearing-by-siblings is a pattern of parental behavior quite different from that which obtains in the contemporary small family. The over-solicitous mother is strangely out of place in a family of twelve. The nagging parent, the type who says, "Mary, go out and see what Johnny is doing and tell him to stop," is too much occupied in a large family to "ride" any one child. Both parent and child in a large family are apt to be less demanding and less possessive in their attitudes toward each other. The stark realities of large family living laugh to scorn the neurotic sins of the small family. In short, our hypothesis here tends to agree with George Bernard Shaw's comments years ago: "The old observation," he writes, "that members of large families get on in the world holds good because in large families it is impossible for each child to receive what schoolmasters call 'individual attention.' The children may receive a good deal of individual attention from one another in the shape of outspoken reproach, ruthless ridicule, and violent resistance to their attempts at aggression; but the parental despots are compelled by the multitude of their subjects to resort to political rather than to personal rule, and to spread their attempts at moral monster-making over so many children, that each child has enough freedom, and enough

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[8] *Ibid.,* p. 109.

sport in the prophylactic process of laughing at its elders behind their backs, to escape with much less damage than the single child."[9]

6. Much of what has been said in this paper thus far might be interpreted to suggest that all is sweetness and light within the large family. This certainly is not the case, and our observations reveal various other aspects. Life in the large family tends to be decidedly complex. Invoking our Law of Family Interaction, we find a total of 45 personal interrelationships within a household of ten members,[10] and if one considers the total number of possible interactive relationships, the final number becomes fantastic.[11] These totals in turn have to be considered against the background of available space of living quarters. We have proposed recently[12] a spatial index for family interaction, which expresses quantitatively the spatial setting for family and other intragroup relations.

Thinking prosaically, in terms of numbers of persons, sets of personal interrelationships, square feet of living quarters, number of

bedrooms and bathrooms, it must be evident that the large family, especially when living at moderate and lower income levels, faces many problems of internal stress and strain. Our studies of rituals in large families at lower income levels reveal that many of them are routinized adjustments to living under cramped quarters. "The rituals arising from these situations are, for the most part, rituals of expediency, to keep the family going, and to facilitate escape from home into a more exciting or promising world."[13]

Further hypotheses of this study suggest that the age of siblings when they leave home, the age of marriage, and the formation of subgroups within the family, tend to correlate with the degree of spatial pressure within the home, as revealed by the spatial index which we have devised. Definite data on this, however, are lacking at this point in our study.

The limitations of this paper permit presentation of but a few of more than thirty hypotheses which have been formulated on the basis of the pilot study. All of them center around the main contentions of this paper: (1) that the large, like the small, family involves a system of living, with distinguishing characteristics, problems and patterns of adjustment; (2) that these are correlates, tending to vary with changes in the size of the group; (3) that these systems of family living are of particular importance in the study of personality types.

[9] George Bernard Shaw, *Misalliance*, Brentano's, New York, 1914, pp. xix, xx.
[10] James H. S. Bossard, "The Law of Family Interaction," in *The Sociology of Child Development*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1948, p. 146.
[11] William Kephart, "A Quantitative Analysis of Intragroup Relationships," the American Journal of Sociology, May, 1950, pp. 544–549.
[12] James H. S. Bossard, "A Spatial Index for Family Interaction," the *American Sociological Review*, April, 1951, pp. 243–246.

[13] Bossard and Boll, *Ritual in Family Living, op. cit.*, p. 133.

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AND PREDICTION IN SWEDEN AND THE UNITED STATES

HARVEY J. LOCKE AND GEORG KARLSSON

THIS paper gives the following three conclusions relative to a comparison of marital adjustment and prediction in the United States and Sweden:[1] (1) The marital-adjustment test which separated "happily married" from divorced in the senior author's study of predicting marital adjustment in Indiana[2] also discriminated between adjusted and unadjusted in a community in Sweden. (2) About two thirds of the marital-prediction items which were statistically significant in the Indiana study and which were included in the Swedish study differentiated between adjusted and unadjusted couples in Sweden. (3) A few differences were discovered in the comparison of the two societies.

The availability of the published results of the senior author's study makes it unnecessary to give as detailed a discussion of it as for the Swedish study.

The two studies used personal interviews[3] to secure questionnaire data from a fairly representative sample of a county in Indiana and of Uppsala, a Swedish city of 60,000 population.[4] The Indiana sample of 929 persons was composed of happily married, and of divorced persons who for the most part were husbands and their wives. The 423 persons in the Swedish sample were in four groups and also were almost entirely husbands and their wives. The groups and the number of cases in each are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1. GROUPS IN THE SWEDISH SAMPLE AND THE NUMBER OF CASES IN EACH

Groups	Number of Cases Couples	One-Side-only Cases
Recommended as happily married by persons in a representative general population sample	90	1
Representative marriages of the the general population	51	1
Recommended as unhappily married by the interviewed happily married	39	0
Separated cases who were in the year's waiting period prior to divorce	25	11
Total	205	13

One of the first problems was to get the questions translated into Swedish so that they would have about the same meaning for the groups in Indiana and in Sweden. The procedure was to have the junior author translate them into Swedish and then have another person translate them back into English, continuing the process until the senior author judged that the Swedish had the same meaning as the item had in the Indiana study.

The kind of couples comprising the samples of the two studies is indicated by comparing certain characteristics: the average age for both was slightly below 40; over 95 per cent of both were native-born; on years married, the average length for Swedish couples was somewhat less than for Indiana, but in both it was more than 10 years—in Sweden about 11 years for both adjusted and also unadjusted, and in Indiana 16.7 for happily married and 11.4 for divorced; both were similar to the respective general populations in educational level and in occupations.

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[1] The study was made possible by the appointment of the senior author as visiting professor of sociology at Uppsala University for the year 1950–1951, by the fact that the junior author was already working on marital adjustment in Sweden, and by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

[2] Harvey J. Locke, *Predicting Adjustment in Marriage: A Comparison of a Divorced and a Happily Married Group*, Henry Holt, 1951, p. 45ff.

[3] Except in separated cases, the husband and wife were interviewed simultaneously in different rooms.

[4] See George Karlsson, *Adaptability and Communication in Marriage: A Swedish Predictive Study of Marital Satisfaction*, Uppsala Sweden, Almquist and Wiksells Boktrycheri, 1951.

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

The marital-adjustment test which discriminated between happily married and divorced in the cultural context of Indiana also functioned in the cultural context of an urban community in Sweden. It distinguished between couples who, on the basis of independent criteria discussed below, had different positions along the marital-adjustment continuum.

The marital-adjustment test used in the two studies included items on agreements and disagreements of husband and wife, satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the marriage, and the extent of common interests and activities. In the Swedish study the following minor modifications were made in the Indiana test: one question on the degree to which husband and wife "talk things over together" was transferred to a new test on intimacy of communication; one item on agreement or disagreement in handling family finances was changed to include three specific questions; three items which resembled other questions and three with low correlations with marital adjustment in the prior study were omitted; and four items similar to those in the Indiana test were added. These new items included two on the degree of satisfaction with methods of settling disputes between the husband and wife; one on whether or not either spouse had ever contemplated separation or divorce; and one, on education of children, was added to the list of items on agreement and disagreement. Of the 29 questions in the Indiana marital-adjustment test, 21 were used in identical form in the test given Swedish subjects. Thus, with minor exceptions, the test used in Sweden and in Indiana was essentially the same.

To determine whether or not a marital-adjustment test separates poorly-adjusted from well-adjusted it is necessary to separate marriages into different degrees of adjustment by a method which is independent of the test. The independent criteria used to place Swedish marriages along a marital-adjustment continuum were as follows: The first group was *happily married* as judged by persons in a representative sample of general population couples, who were asked for the names of those who were known fairly well and who were the most happily

married known to the recommender. The second group consisted of a representative sample of couples in the *general population*. The third group was *unhappily married* as judged by the happily married, who at the completion of the interview were asked for the names of the most unhappily married known to them. The fourth group was secured from the registry list of persons who were contemplating divorce and were *separated* in the year prior to securing the divorce. Thus, it was possible to secure marital-adjustment scores for persons in the four groups: happily married, a general population group, unhappily married, and separated.

In both studies marital-adjustment scores were determined by the sum of the weights assigned to given answers to questions in the test. The weights assigned were determined by the graph constructed by J. P. Guilford,[5] and depended on the degree of difference in percentages on answers to each question by two groups. These groups, happily married and separated cases, were assumed to be on opposite ends of the marital-adjustment continuum. This procedure of determining weights by comparing two of the four groups is of particular importance, for thereby the marital-adjustment scores of persons in the other two groups—general population and unhappily married—were independent of *the method* of assigning weights to the questions. Thus, there are two crucial questions: First, do the mean marital-adjustment scores fall along a consistent rank order with happily married at one end and separated cases at the other? Second, does the test discriminate between the general population group and the other three groups and between the unhappily married and the other groups. If so, then the test functions when applied to the two new Swedish groups.

The answer to the first question is given in Table 2, which gives the mean adjustment scores of men and women of the four groups, with the critical ratios of the differences between the mean scores of three groups and

[5] J. P. Guilford, *Fundamentals in Psychology and Education*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1950, p. 540. The amount of the weight was determined by a device of statistical analysis known as the phi coefficient.

TABLE 2. MEAN MARITAL-ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF FOUR SWEDISH GROUPS, WITH CRITICAL RATIOS OF
THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HAPPILY MARRIED AND THE OTHER GROUPS

Groups	Mean Scores of Men	CR	Mean Scores of Women	CR
Happily Married	134.8		154.4	
General Population	130.7	2.0	144.8	3.0
Unhappily Married	117.4	5.0	124.6	6.1
Separated	88.6	11.9	86.8	17.0

that of the happily married. The mean mar-
ital-adjustment scores of the four groups
form a consistent rank order, with men and
women having the same sequence. From
highest to lowest mean scores the sequence
is happily married, general population, un-
happily married, and separated. It will be
seen that the respective scores for men were
134.8, 130.7, 117.4, and 88.6; for women,
154.4, 144.8, 124.6, and 86.8. The higher
scores for women is a consequence of their
maximum possible score being 171 points,
while for men it is only 149. The table
shows that the critical ratios of the differ-
ences between the mean score of the happily
married and the other three groups are sta-
tistically significant on the five per cent
level or better.

The answer to the second question is that
the marital-adjustment test successfully dif-
ferentiated between the groups which were
not involved in the weighting procedure.
Table 3 gives the critical ratios between the
mean score of the general population group
and the other three groups and also between
the mean score of the unhappily married and
the other groups. In all cases the differences
are statistically significant. The conclusion
is that the marital-adjustment test placed
the "new" groups—general population cases
and unhappily married—in a rank order

between the happily married and the sepa-
rated cases.

Thus, the application of the Indiana
marital-adjustment test to groups in the
Swedish community resulted in significant
differences between the mean scores of those
recommended as happily married, repre-
sentative of the general population, judged
to be unhappily married, and separated
while waiting for a divorce, and placed these
groups in a consistent rank order.

PREDICTION ITEMS

The analysis of items associated with
marital adjustment might have had the four
groups discussed above as the basis of com-
parison, or simply those with higher and
lower adjustment scores. In view of the
validity of the marital-adjustment test, it
was decided to use marital-adjustment scores
as a basis of securing an "adjusted" and
an "unadjusted" group. A distribution of all
the scores of men and of women revealed a
division point for men and for women at
a place on the scale where there was a
considerable space with no scores in the dis-
tribution. For men there were 153 above and
57 below the selected division point, and
for women 140 above and 73 below. For the
most part the adjusted group is composed
of happily married and general population

TABLE 3. CRITICAL RATIOS OF THE DIFFERENCES OF MEAN SCORES: BETWEEN THE GENERAL POPULATION
GROUP AND BETWEEN THE UNHAPPILY MARRIED AND THE OTHER GROUPS

Groups	General Population Group		Unhappily Married Cases	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Happily Married	2.0	3.0	5.0	6.1
General Population	...	...	3.9	3.9
Unhappily Married	3.9	3.9	...	...
Separated	10.3	12.9	6.0	6.6

cases and the unadjusted of separated and unhappily married.

There were 77 predictive items which were included in both the Indiana and the Swedish study. All of them had been predictive of marital adjustment for either men or for women in the Indiana study and all but 13 had been predictive for both.[6] Of the 77 items there was agreement between the two studies on 50 (65 per cent) for men and on 47 (61 per cent) for women. Table 4

3 in 10 adjusted to 5 in 10 unadjusted.[7] Also the adjusted and unadjusted differed significantly on the average number of years they had known the mate prior to marriage: the respective means for men were 4.9 and 3.8, and for women 4.9 and 3.2. On length of engagement adjusted men and women had a significantly longer mean length than the unadjusted. The respective lengths in months for men were 20.3 and 14.2, and for women 18.8 and 14.3.[8]

TABLE 4. NUMBER OF PREDICTIVE ITEMS IN GIVEN CLASSES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY, AND THE NUMBER OF STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT ITEMS IN THE SWEDISH STUDY

Classes of Items	Number of Items	Statistically Significant Items	
		Men	Women
Feelings during periods of difficulty................	9	7	7
Courtship	2	2	2
Parental influence	5	4	2
Sex behavior	5	3	2
Personality traits	16	13	13
Sociability	9	5	5
Conventionality	2	0	0
Equality of spouses...............................	2	1	0
Common activities	10	6	6
Who takes the lead in activities....................	6	5	6
Impersonal things of the household................	6	0	2
Attitudes toward economic activities..............	5	4	3
Total.......................................	77	50	47

gives the number of items in certain general classes, which were included, and the number of items for men and for women in the Swedish sample where the differences between the adjusted and unadjusted were statistically significant. The discussion will be limited to some of the items on courtship, parental influence, personality traits, sociability, shared responses, equality in taking the lead, and children.

Courtship involves a period of acquaintance and engagement and the Swedish results were similar to the Indiana study and other studies in the United States. Adjusted men and women had a longer period of acquaintance than did the unadjusted. A period of 2 years or less was reported by about

Three items will be considered on *parental influence* and marital adjustment. In the Indiana study the first, happiness of childhood, was significant for women, but not for men; the second, happiness of the parents' marriage, was significant for men, but not for women; and the third, attitude of the parents toward the mate prior to marriage, was significant for both men and women. In the Swedish study these three were significant for both men and women.

The adjusted reported a very happy childhood much more frequently than did the unadjusted,[9] while a larger per cent of unadjusted were in the combined category

[6] In the Swedish study results for men and women were identical in 56 of the 77 items, with 39 being positively associated and 17 unrelated to marital adjustment.

[7] Percentages for men; 30.7 and 53.5, CR 3.9: for women; 31.1 and 54.0, CR 3.2.
[8] Acquaintance; CR for men 2.2, for women 4.0. Engagement: CR for men 12.2, for women 9.2.
[9] Percentages for men; 37.0 and 14.0, CR 3.2: for women; 33.8 and 19.1, CR 2.2.

of average happiness, unhappy, and very unhappy.[10]

On happiness of the parents' marriage a significantly larger per cent of adjusted men and women rated it higher than did the unadjusted. About 6 in 10 adjusted men to 3 in 10 unadjusted gave the happiness of their parents' marriage as happy and very happy; the ratio for women was about 5 in 10 to 3 in 10.[11] This means, of course, that a larger per cent of the unadjusted rated the marriage of their parents in the other three categories: average happiness, unhappy, and very unhappy.

The approval of the mate by the in-laws before marriage was a very predictive item for both men and women. The respective percentages of adjusted and unadjusted men who reported approval was 85.8 and 60.0, and for women 90.5 and 66.1.[12]

Indiana and Swedish subjects were given five possible ratings for self and mate on 16 *personality traits:* markedly, considerably, somewhat, a little, and not at all. In both studies ratings of mate proved much more differentiating than self-ratings, and, as indicated in Table 4, there were 13 in which adjusted men and 13 in which adjusted women differed significantly from the unadjusted. Space does not permit a detailed discussion of these,[13] but a brief summary will be given of those mate-ratings which were favorable to marital adjustment for both men and women. There were seven differentiating traits in which the ratings of wives by husbands and of husbands by wives were about the same: very affectionate, a little or not at all demonstrative, yields in arguments quickly, gets angry slowly, gets over anger quickly, a good sense of humor, and a little or not at all influenced by others. There were three in which there were significantly different ratings of wives by husbands and of husbands by wives: wives somewhat dominating and husbands not at all, wives slow in making decisions and husbands quick, wives considerably concerned

with what people say and think and husbands a little or not at all.[14] On the whole the results in the Swedish study on personality traits were similar to the results in Indiana and point to such items as these as predictive factors in marital adjustment.

Sociability was a predictive item in Indiana and in Sweden. As measured by the number of friends before marriage, after marriage, and in common during marriage, the adjusted were more sociable than were the unadjusted. However, on number of friends before marriage, there was only one significant difference between the adjusted and unadjusted: women who reported they had almost no men friends before marriage were more frequently in the unadjusted group.[15] On friends after marriage it was favorable to marital adjustment if women reported they had several women friends;[16] that they had several and many men friends;[17] and that husbands had several women friends.[18] For men it was favorable if they reported they had many women friends,[19] and rated their wives as having many men friends.[20]

For friends in common during marriage, more adjusted men gave the rating of many, with the unadjusted reporting more frequently in the combined category of almost none and a few.[21] The same was true for women, with the exception that more adjusted than unadjusted were in the combined category of several and many.[22]

Shared attitudes toward given activities were associated with marital adjustment in both studies. In Sweden the adjusted and unadjusted were given three kinds of shared

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[10] Percentages for men; 38.6 and 19.4, CR 2.9: for women; 45.2 and 22.3, CR 3.5.

[11] Percentages for men; 62.2 and 30.2, CR 4.0: for women; 48.0 and 33.9, CR only 1.9.

[12] CR for men, 4.0; for women, 4.4.

[13] Detailed percentages and critical ratios for the 16 traits are in the files of the senior author.

[14] There were three which were significant only when made by husbands and three when made by wives: wives a little and not at all a leader, a little strict with children, and not at all interested in belonging to organizations; husbands very responsible, somewhat or considerably sociable, and very determined.

[15] Percentages; 11.4 and 19.2, CR 2.0.

[16] Percentages; 42.9 and 24.7, CR 2.6.

[17] Percentages; 30.7 and 19.4, CR only 1.8.

[18] Percentages; 26.4 and 13.0, CR 2.2.

[19] Percentages; 17.6 and 3.6, CR 2.6; for almost none, 17.0 and 39.3, CR 3.4.

[20] Percentages; 17.8 and 5.5, CR 2.2; for almost none, 18.4 and 32.7, CR 2.2.

[21] Percentages for many; 29.4 and 7.1, CR 3.4; for almost none and a few, 46.4 and 31.3, CR 2.0.

[22] Percentages; 70.0 and 50.0, CR 2.9.

responses of the husband and wife and three individualistic responses toward eleven activities. Shared responses were: both liked, both indifferent, and both disliked; individualistic responses were: one liked and the other disliked, one liked and the other indifferent, and one indifferent and the other disliked.

For men there was a significantly larger per cent of adjusted than unadjusted who reported that both spouses liked listening to the radio,[23] and liked or were indifferent to parties, sports, and church.[24] Individualistic attitudes toward these were more prevalent in the unadjusted group. For women there were six activities in which the shared responses of adjusted were statistically greater than the unadjusted: reading, movies, church, drinking, dancing, and gambling.[25] Also for women there was one individualistic response which was associated with marital adjustment: playing cards with one liked and the other indifferent.[26] However, in this activity it was associated with maladjustment if one liked and the other disliked.[27]

Equality in taking the lead in family activities, that is one spouse not being more dominant than the other, was highly associated with marital adjustment in the Indiana study and also in Sweden. The subjects were asked to indicate whether the wife, the husband, or both about equally tended to take the lead in 6 activities: making family decisions, disciplining the children, handling family money, affectionate behavior, religious behavior, and recreational behavior. For men the first four of these had a significantly larger percentage of ad-

justed than unadjusted who reported that the lead was taken by both.[28] For women all but disciplining the children had a much larger per cent of adjusted than unadjusted who reported that both took the lead.[29] The mutual engaging in affectionate behavior was particularly important in that 71.7 per cent of adjusted and only 13.6 per cent of unadjusted reported this;[30] it was unfavorable to adjustment if the wife took the lead,[31] and fairly unfavorable if the husband took the lead.[32] Thus, equality, or the absence of dominance by one spouse, was associated with marital adjustment in both Indiana and in Sweden.

American studies have found no relationship between the presence or absence of *children* or the average size of the family and marital adjustment.[33] This was true also for the Swedish study. The percentages of adjusted and unadjusted who reported no children were; for women 15.0 and 15.0, and for men 15.3 and 10.7. The mean size of the families of the adjusted and unadjusted for women was exactly the same: 1.62; and for men 1.65 and 1.66. Also, like the studies in the United States, a larger per cent of adjusted than unadjusted reported a desire for children, but the difference was statistically significant only for

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[23] Percentages; 94.1 and 84.2, CR 2.3.
[24] Percentages; parties, 87.6 and 73.7, CR 2.2; sports, 52.9 and 35.1, CR 2.3; church, 87.6 and 70.1, CR 3.0.
[25] Percentages; reading both liked, 70.0 and 54.8, CR 2.2; movies both indifferent, 17.9 and 5.5, CR 2.5; church both indifferent, 65.5 and 31.5, CR 4.7; drinking both disliked, 25.7 and 8.2, CR 3.0; dancing both liked and both indifferent, 72.8 and 58.9, CR 2.1; and gambling both liked, both indifferent, and both disliked, 91.4 and 75.3, CR 3.2.
[26] Percentages; 16.4 and 8.2, CR 3.4.
[27] For men, there were 7 activities in which the adjusted and unadjusted did not differ on the selected statistical level: reading, playing cards, gambling, drinking, dancing, movies, and music. For women, there were four: parties, listening to the radio, music, and sports.

[28] Percentages; making decisions, 72.4 and 52.6, CR 2.7; disciplining the children, 64.7 and 50.0, CR only 1.9; handling money, 53.9 and 32.1, CR 2.8; affectionate behavior, 66.9 and 51.8, CR 2.0. It was unfavorable to adjustment if the wife took the lead in making family decisions (21.1 and 6.6, CR 3.0), and in disciplining the children (39.6 and 25.0, CR 2.2), and if the husband took the lead in religious behavior (15.4 and 5.3, CR 2.5), and in handling money (42.9 and 28.9, CR only 1.9).
[29] Percentages; making decisions, 75.7 and 50.7, CR 3.7; handling money, 57.9 and 32.9, CR 3.5; religious behavior, 75.2 and 56.5, CR 2.7; recreational behavior, 81.3 and 57.7, CR 3.6. It was unfavorable if the wife took the lead in making family decisions (34.2 and 10.7, CR 4.2), in disciplining the children (40.3 and 28.2, CR only 1.9), and in religious behavior (37.7 and 20.3, CR 2.8), and it was unfavorable if one or the other took the lead in handling family money (men took lead, 42.5 and 27.9, CR 2.2; wife took lead, 24.7 and 14.3, CR only 1.9). It was unfavorable if the husband took the lead in recreation (29.6 and 8.6, CR 4.0).
[30] CR 8.1.
[31] Percentages; 54.5 and 10.1, CR 7.6.
[32] Percentages; 31.8 and 18.1, CR 2.4.
[33] Harvey J. Locke, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

women.[34] On the question of whether or not it was possible to have children with mate, a significantly larger per cent of unadjusted than adjusted women reported it was not.[35]

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO STUDIES

Certain differences between the results of the Indiana and the Swedish studies were to be expected. Of the 77 marital prediction items included in both studies slightly under 40 per cent had no relationship to marital adjustment in Sweden. Table 4 shows that items having no relationship were concentrated in conventionality, equality of husband and wife, and impersonal things of the household. The discussion will be limited to conventionality, demonstration of affection, and frequency of premarital and extramarital sex behavior.

Age at which one stopped going to Sunday school and frequency of church attendance were two of the indices of conventionality in the Indiana study and these were included in the Swedish study. There were no significant differences between adjusted and unadjusted on age at which Sunday school attendance was stopped. Also, there were no differences in frequency of church attendance in terms of the five frequencies used in the Indiana study. However, when persons in Sweden were simply asked to indicate whether or not they "usually attended religious services," a significantly larger per cent of unadjusted than adjusted reported in the affirmative.[36] Thus, usually attending religious services was unfavorable to marital adjustment. Probably Sunday school and church attendance are not indices of conventionality in Sweden, and possibly, if one had adequate indices of it, conventionality might be associated with marital adjustment.

The Indiana study included a "personality trait" on affectionateness and another on demonstration of affection. Subjects were asked to rate themselves and their mates on

these in terms of the fivefold scale mentioned above under personality traits. Both affectionateness and demonstration of affection were found to be positively associated with marital adjustment in the Indiana study,[37] whereas in Sweden affectionateness was associated with marital adjustment but demonstration of affection was associated with maladjustment—the unadjusted rated themselves much higher than did the adjusted.[38] In the informal interviews it was found that being affectionate was expected by husbands and wives, but showing it was more or less frowned upon. Thus, being affectionate without obviously showing it appears to be a characteristic of the Swedish culture.

The Swedish and Indiana results show that Swedish persons, while similar to the Indiana subjects in their reported extramarital relations,[39] are much more likely to report premarital sex behavior. Premarital sex intercourse with one or more persons was reported by about 9 in 10 Swedish men and women;[40] in Indiana the ratio was about 7 in 10 men and only 1 in 10 women.[41] Terman in 1938 predicted that premarital intercourse would be almost universal for men in the United States born after 1930 and for women born after 1940.[42] In 1951

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[34] Percentages for men; 90.1 and 83.9, CR only 1.2: for women; 89.1 and 73.6, CR 2.4.

[35] Percentages; 23.1 and 12.1, CR 2.0.

[36] Percentages; 58.9 and 37.1, CR 3.0. There were no differences for men.

[37] One exception was that a larger per cent of divorced than happily married women rated themselves as markedly and considerably demonstrative.

[38] Self-ratings for men; markedly and considerably, 38.5 and 20.2, CR 2.7; for women, markedly considerably, and somewhat, 64.4 and 47.9, CR 2.3. Ratings of mate as markedly and considerably: men, 49.2 and 18.9, CR 4.5; for women, 30.1 and 17.1, CR 2.2.

[39] In Sweden respective percentages of adjusted and unadjusted men; 14.1 and 26.3; for women 1.5 and 8.6. In Indiana percentages of happily married and divorced men; 16.9 and 47.1: for women; 1.2 and 4.8.

[40] Respective percentages for adjusted and unadjusted men; 94.0 and 92.8: for women; 82.3 and 87.1. Premarital intercourse with mate for men; 91.3 and 94.7: for women; 88.1 and 95.8.

[41] Respective percentages for happily married and divorced men; 63.4 and 88.1: for women; 11.6 and 14.7.

[42] Lewis M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness,* McGraw-Hill, 1938, p. 323. He emphasized that his prediction depended on the drop in the virginity rate continuing for the average rate for those born since 1890.

premarital intercourse was almost universal for the samples studied in Sweden.

SUMMARY

The results of this comparison of two societies having certain cultural differences show that the Indiana marital-adjustment test was fairly effective in measuring marital adjustment in the Swedish community, that most of the predictive items were also ap-plicable, and that the two societies differed on some items. Additional studies of marital adjustment in two or more societies should be made to examine the hypothesis that, even with its imperfections, a marital-adjustment test like that of the Indiana study is ap-plicable to various western European socie-ties and that there are common predictive items of marital adjustment in these societies.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE OPERATION OF RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AS A FACTOR IN MATE SELECTION*

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PREVIOUS studies designed to measure residential propinquity as a factor in mate selection among city dwellers have found a large proportion of marriages between persons living very near to each other.[1] Noteworthy also is the consistency of the decline in the percentage of marriages as the distance between the homes of the prospective mates increases.

These studies, however, have been con-cerned exclusively with *propinquitous ad-dresses just before marriage* and their find-ings have been based solely on the records of marriage license applications. As a next step in the development of research con-cerning this factor, it would seem necessary to determine *the degree to which propinquity is functional in the meeting and dating pat-terns of urban couples*. Perhaps residence, as reported on the marriage application, is more apparent than real.

I. THE PROBLEM

This study constitutes an attempt to an-swer the following questions arising out of earlier research in this area:

1. Do the statistics regarding place of resi-dence at the time of application for marriage license accurately reflect the role of propinquity at the time of the prospective mates' first date together and subsequent engagement?

2. Is residential propinquity related to the place and circumstances of the initial meeting?

3. How is the distance between the addresses of prospective mates at the time of their first date with each other related to the age, educa-tion, occupation, and religious preference of the male partners? [2]

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The author is indebted to Dr. John F. Cuber and Dr. Raymond F. Sletto for many helpful sug-gestions in the formulation of this study.

[1] James H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Mate Selection," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38 (September, 1932), 219–224; Daniel Harris, "Age and Occupational Factors in the Resi-dential Propinquity of Marriage Partners," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 6 (May, 1935), 257–261; Maurice R. Davie and Ruby Jo Reeves, "Propin-quity of Residence Before Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (January, 1939), 510–517; Marvin R. Koller, "Residential Propinquity of White Mates at Marriage in Relation to Age and Occupation of Males, Columbus, Ohio, 1938 and 1946," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (October, 1948), 613–616; Carmela F. Sprague, "A Study of the Relation of Residential Propinquity at Mar-riage to Age and Occupation of Males in Warren, Ohio, for Selected Pre-War and Post-War Years" (unpublished Master's thesis, The Ohio State Uni-versity, 1947).

[2] The age of the male was used rather than that of the female because of the presumably large number of women who might misrepresent their ages for numerous alleged reasons. It was decided to use the man's occupation rather than that of the woman, for her occupation if often terminated at the time of marriage. To make the procedure consistent it was also decided to use the education and religious preference of the male only.

It should be emphasized that the present research is not intended as a negative criticism of previous studies concerned with this phase of mate selection. These studies explicitly indicated that they were investigating propinquity of residence at the time of application for the marriage license and hence fulfilled their assignments well. What needs to be done now is to go behind the

investigation further comparable to Koller's it was limited to white couples living in Columbus, or adjacent suburbs. The exclusion of Negroes from the final sample was based upon the fact that their residential mobility is generally restricted to segregated districts. The standard city block, equal to one-eight of a mile, was also selected as the unit of measurement.

TABLE 1. RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY OF WHITE COUPLES BY STANDARD CITY BLOCKS AT TIME OF FIRST DATE TOGETHER, SUBSEQUENT ENGAGEMENT AND APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE

Blocks Between Residences*	At First Date		At Engagement		At Application	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Same address	9	3.2	8	2.8	31	9.8
Within:						
4	70	24.9	73	25.3	95	30.0
8	105	37.3	108	37.4	126	39.8
12	132	46.9	135	46.7	149	47.1
16	153	54.4	154	53.2	169	53.4
20	172	61.2	172	59.4	190	60.6
24	182	64.7	187	64.6	209	66.0
28	197	70.0	199	68.8	221	69.8
32	215	76.4	216	74.8	236	74.5
36	227	80.7	229	79.3	249	78.6
40	239	85.0	241	83.5	262	82.7
44	251	89.3	249	86.3	274	86.5
48	258	91.8	256	88.7	281	88.7
52	262	93.2	265	91.8	290	91.5
56	267	95.0	273	94.6	298	94.0
60	271	96.4	278	96.3	303	95.6
64	277	98.5	283	98.0	308	97.2
68	278	98.8	285	98.7	311	98.2
72	280	99.6	287	99.4	313	98.8
76	281	100.0	288	99.7	314	99.1
80	281	100.0	289	100.0	315	99.4
84	281	100.0	289	100.0	316	99.7
88	281	100.0	289	100.0	317	100.0

* The standard city block is equal to one-eighth of a mile.

apparent propinquity to discover how it operates.

II. METHODOLOGY

One aspect of this test was a comparison of the findings from a new sample with those obtained in Koller's study of marriage and propinquity in Columbus, Ohio.[3] In order that the date might be comparable, the techniques employed in the present study are generally similar to those used in Koller's study. Koller devised several methodological refinements of Bossard's well-known propinquity research. To make the findings of this

There is a basic difference, however, between Koller's study and the present one. In the former, data were secured from marriage license *application forms*. In the present study, the data were collected through *interviews with couples* as they applied for marriage licenses. It should be noted, at this point, that the final sample used was confined to an analysis of white couples in which *both* parties were living within the corporation limits of Columbus, Ohio, or contiguous municipalities throughout the courtship period.

After obtaining the cooperation of the Franklin County Probate Court, it was possible to interview the couples as soon as

[3] Koller, *op. cit.*, p. 613.

they had completed their application for the marriage license. Approximately ninety per cent of the interviewees were willing to answer the necessary questions.[4] Four hundred and thirty-one couples were interviewed between June 10 and August 10, 1949. Although this nine-week period was more or less arbitrarily chosen, it was felt that the relatively high frequency of marriages contracted during these months would yield a sample of sufficient magnitude.

Of the 431 couples interviewed, 281 or

cense, but was also present in the meeting and dating patterns of the couples. Most of the men married women who lived within a few blocks of them. Table 1 shows a comparison of the degree of propinquity operative during their courtships.

Of the 281 couples in this sample, slightly over one-half (53.4 per cent) of the mates resided within sixteen standard city blocks of each other at the time of application for the marriage license. Almost the same proportion (54.4 per cent) lived within six-

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF STANDARD CITY BLOCKS SEPARATING RESIDENCES OF MARRIAGE LICENSE APPLICANTS IN THE PRESENT STUDY AND IN KOLLER'S STUDY

Phase of Courtship	N	Md.	Q.	Q1	Q3
Present study					
At first date	281	13.70	13.51	4.13	31.14
At application	317	13.88	14.78	3.10	32.66
Koller's study					
At application	2,332	13.33	14.29	3.14	31.72

64.3 per cent of the prospective mates were residents of the city at the time of their first date together, subsequent engagement, and application for a marriage license. The remaining 150 were couples not residing in Columbus prior to filing application and were eliminated from the final sample. The addresses of each of the 281 couples was plotted on a large map of Columbus. The most direct route was used in computing the number of standard city blocks between the residences of the applicants in the case of each couple. Occasionally this route involved obstructions such as railroad tracks, rivers and private grounds. When these obstacles were encountered it was necessary to measure around them.

III. FINDINGS[5]

Analysis of the data shows that residential propinquity was not only a factor at the time of application for the marriage li-

teen standard city blocks of their prospective partner at the time of their *first date together*. In his study, Koller found that "in 1946, fifty per cent of the 1,200 men selected a girl living within fifteen standard city blocks."[6]

Although the same general pattern of propinquity is revealed at each successive stage, namely, first date, engagement, and application for the license, the following differences may be observed:

1. The number of cases in which the prospective marriage partners lived at the same address was proportionately greater at the time of application for the marriage license than at the time of their first date together and subsequent engagement.

2. The proportion of future mates who resided within four standard city blocks of each other was also greater at the time of application than at the time of the first date and the engagement.

The similarities in the quartile values shown in Table 2 are interesting in light of

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[4] Those who refused to cooperate in the study may be classified, for the most part, into one or more of the following categories: (1) they were in the older age group—between forty and sixty years, (2) one or both members divorced, or (3) the couple had relatively little formal education. The representativeness of the sample is therefore decreased to the extent that these factors were operative.

[5] A more comprehensive statement of the find-

ings of this research may be found in the original study: Alfred C. Clarke, "An Examination of the Validity of Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Mate Selection" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University, 1950).

[6] Koller, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

the variations in the methodology of obtaining the data and in the time lapse between the two studies. Both investigations revealed that one-half of the couples were separated by thirteen or fewer standard blocks at the time of application for the marriage license. The interview data also indicated that the median number of blocks intervening between the homes of the applicants at the time of their first date together remained the same.

In an attempt to account for the striking uniformity in the residential pattern of these couples an analysis was made of residential

courtship remains, for the most part unaltered.

These findings may help to determine more accurately the importance of the propinquity factor in mate selection, since previous studies do not indicate whether the marriage partners who lived a substantial distance apart at the time of application formerly lived nearer to each other. Nor has it been possible to ascertain the number of cases in which the parties to the marriage residing close to one another at marriage, previously lived at very distant addresses.

TABLE 3. RESIDENTIAL MOVEMENT OF 281 COUPLES FROM TIME OF FIRST DATE TOGETHER UNTIL TIME OF APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE

Residential Movement	Number of Cases		Per Cent		Total Blocks Moved	
Couples who did not change place of residence	161		57.3		....	
Couples who changed place of residence	120		42.7		1,885	
Moved closer together		67		55.8*		959
Moved further apart		53		44.2*		926
Total	281	120	100.0	100.0	1,885	1,885

* Percentage of the 120 cases who changed place of residence.

movement during courtship. No such movement was observed in the cases of 161 couples, whereas 120 couples did reveal changes in addresses. Table 3 shows the results of this analysis.

Examination of this table reveals the underlying process which was in operation. It will be noted that 67 couples, or 56 per cent, moved a total distance of 959 standard city blocks nearer to each other from the time of their first date together to the time of application for a marriage license. However, the effect of this trend was largely offset by the fact that 53 couples, or 44 per cent, moved a total distance of 926 blocks farther apart during the same period. The remarkable degree of stability evident in the quartile values is explained by the fact that approximately half of the couples who changed their residences moved closer together as they approached marriage, whereas the other half moved almost an equal number of blocks farther apart. Thus, in the final analysis, considering the sample as a whole, the degree of residential propinquity existing earlier in

Other sociologists studying marriage and propinquity have shown particular interest in those cases in which the applicants resided within a few blocks of each other. In this connection, a question frequently raised is: What proportion of couples, living only a few blocks apart before marriage, initially meet each other within the neighborhood area? A classification of the interview data for the 105 couples whose addresses were separated by eight blocks or less at the time of the prospective mates' first date together, revealed that more than three-fourths (77.2 per cent) of this group met their future marriage partners for the first time at a place not more than eight standard city blocks from both their homes.

An additional point merits brief comment. In many cases, where a change of residence had occurred between the time of first date and application for the license, inquiry was made as to the reason for this change of address. Among the usual responses were: "Because I found a cheaper room," "I live with my parents and they sold the house," "I've changed jobs and the room I have now is

closer to my work," "I moved to a better apartment." In only six instances did the interviewees specifically indicate that they moved in order to be nearer the homes of their prospective mates. The reply, "I moved to a better apartment," when analyzed, disclosed almost as many applicants who found their "better apartment" farther away from rather than nearer to the address of their future spouse. On the basis of these data, the hypothesis that couples who are planning to marry tend to move closer together as they approach the time of marriage is evidently true of only a small number of them. Even when the prospective mates moved farther apart, a large proportion of them still resided within eight to twelve city blocks of each other.

Examination was made of the variables associated with differences in the degree of residential propinquity of the couples studied. For this purpose, the data indicating the residential pattern, both at the time of the prospective mates' first date with each other and at application for the marriage license, were separated as follows: (1) those persons who lived eight or fewer standard city blocks apart, and (2) those applicants whose homes were separated by more than eight standard blocks. Critical ratios were computed between the respective percentages appearing in each category and other specific sub-variables.[7]

Statistically significant differences were found between the applicants' response to the question, "Where did you first meet?" and the percentage of marriages close to home (within eight blocks). The applicants who met at one or the other's home showed the largest proportion (60.2 per cent) of marriages within this eight block area. Those who met at their place of work revealed the smallest proportion (13.8 per cent) of such marriages. Approximately one-third of the persons who indicated that they met at school or church married someone within eight blocks from their homes. Less than one-fourth of those who met at a recreation center married a person living within this eight block area.

Significant differences were also found with reference to the couples' response to the question, "How did you first meet?" Of the ten possible combinations among the various sub-categories of this response, all but two yielded critical ratios ranging from 2.06 to 6.32. The greatest difference appeared between those who met as neighbors and those who were introduced to each other by a friend who was not a relative or member of the applicant's immediate family group.

Almost 60 per cent of the couples who met through their parents or relatives married while living within eight blocks of each other, whereas less than 50 per cent of those who met through school or college acquaintances married someone residing within eight standard city blocks. Of those who replied that they introduced themselves to each other, approximately 75 per cent selected a mate living more than eight blocks away.[8]

The findings of this study regarding the age of the prospective husbands revealed that those in the older age group (30 years or over) were less affected by residential propinquity than males in any other age group at the time of the first date with their future wives. The generalization also holds for this group at the time of application for the marriage license. Men in the age group 18–21.9 revealed the largest proportion of marriages close to home. There is some divergence between Koller's study and the present one with regard to this factor. In the former, the age group "over 35" demonstrated the closest degree of residential propinquity, whereas the group 24–27 revealed the greatest distance in standard city blocks.

The educational level of male applicants for marriage licenses in Columbus is apparently not related to propinquity. Approximately one-third of those who attended high school or college selected mates residing within an eight-block area of their homes at the time of their first date with each other.

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[7] The tables referring to these classifications are too lengthy to be reproduced in this paper. Copies may be obtained by writing to the author.

[8] It is obvious that several of these categories overlap one another. For example, some couples may have replied that they were introduced to each other through a mutual friend who conceivably might also have been a school or college acquaintance. It is felt, nevertheless, that perhaps the particular response given was indicative of the relative importance of the thought in the mind of the interviewee.

The same pattern was discernable at marriage.

The findings on occupational differences indicated that men in the professional and managerial categories were less affected by propinquity than those in unskilled jobs. However, males in skilled occupations selected spouses closer to home than did men in the clerical and sales group. Concerning this factor, the findings from the interview data are in essential agreement with the findings based on marriage license applications.

Religious preference appears to be related to residential propinquity, with Protestant couples having the largest proportion of marriages within eight standard city blocks. Catholic couples demonstrated the smallest percentage of such marriages. The critical ratio computed from the differences between Catholic and Protestant marriage partners was significant at the .05 level.

It would seem, therefore, that as far as Columbus is concerned, Catholic men who marry Catholic women tend to travel a greater distance to select a marriage partner than do males with other religious affiliations. This finding is not particularly surprising since most Catholics tend to marry members of the same faith. Presumably, Catholic males must extend their courtship range in proportion to the number of qualifying members of the opposite sex available in a given urban area. This difference, therefore, may be a function of the small proportion of Catholics residing in the population of Columbus, Ohio. Whether this factor, which has not been included in previous studies, has general validity will, of course, have to be decided by further research. Differences between other religious classifications were not statistically significant.

IV. Interpretation

At first glance, these findings might appear to mean that propinquity, *per se*, is a primary factor affecting marital selection. Actually the spatial factor is probably a result rather than a "cause" operating in marital choice.

While it is presumably true that residential proximity is favorable to meeting, it should be pointed out that various ethnic groupings are responsible for a large portion of this tendency to choose a mate living in the same neighborhood. Davie and Reeves have demonstrated that "in a vast majority of cases marriage is an ingroup affair, that is, the two contracting parties tend to be of the same race, nationality, religion and socio-economic status."[9] These factors are noted by Folsom when he states, "Geographic proximity in cities usually means also social similarity."[10] Considered from this point of view, the underlying factors would appear to be endogamy in terms of the local area. In other words, propinquity operates through factors which determine social or attitudinal nearness.

It is known that the same kind of people generally tend to congregate in a given section of a city. Because of this, it is well to note that locality may tend not only to *select*, but also to *produce* persons who are similar in attitudes, behavior patterns, and probably other characteristics. Hence, to some extent, propinquity may be considered a primary component in the process of mate selection.

Finally, it should be stated that the results presented in this investigation are not offered as definitive conclusions. However, the essential agreement of these findings with those of earlier investigations, which employed different methods and used other samples, suggests considerable stability in this limiting factor in the choice of marriage partners. If the validity of these findings is established by subsequent research, perhaps sociologists will be able to account for the many exceptions to the proposition that in spite of modern methods of transportation, the statistical probability of the urban swain marrying someone living very close to his residence is still greater than fifty-fifty.

[9] Maurice R. Davie and Ruby Jo Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

[10] Joseph K. Folsom, *The Family and Democratic Society*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1943, p. 421.

SELECTIVE ASSOCIATION AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN A HIGH SCHOOL POPULATION

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INTRODUCTION

THIS paper reports (a) the extent to which students in a large American high school choose associates for four different types of social relationships (1) from their own ethnic group and (2) from other ethnic groups; (b) the relative popularity of the different ethnic groups as reflected in the choices of members of each group; and (c) the association of certain factors (sex, school class, age, membership in organizations, and socio-economic status) with the number and kind of choices made.

THE POPULATION

This particular high school was selected for analysis because it draws its students not only from the crowded "skidroad" district, but also from some of the wealthiest and most "restricted" neighborhoods of the city. At the time of the study, the total enrollment was 1544 students, 1360 of whom filled in questionnaires. This represents 88% of the total enrollment who were present in school on May 27, 1948. The 12% not returning questionnaires represent the usual number of absentees on any given day, plus one of those present whose schedule was too defective to be included.

The ethnic background of the majority of the students was non-Jewish White (59.6%), while 15.9% were Jewish, 9.6% Japanese 8.5% Negro, 4.8% Chinese, and 1.6% "other" (Filipino, Hawaiian, and Indian).[1]

The non-Jewish Whites were nearly all descended from northwestern Europeans. The parents of 32.7% of the students were managers, owners, or professional workers. The students ranged in age from 13 to 20, and except for a very small freshman class (4.6%), were equally distributed by school classes. The two sexes were equally represented. Nearly one-third of the students held part-time jobs and nearly two-thirds planned to attend college. About half the students belonged (or had belonged) to school organizations, and 21.5% held (or had held) school offices. One-fifth belonged to the scholastic honor society. Ten percent were Roman Catholic, 43% Protestant, 16% Jewish, and 3% "other" (mostly Buddhist), while 28% attended no church. The non-Jewish White majority did not differ markedly from the minorities, taken as a whole, in any of these respects except religion.[2]

THE METHOD

The principal data were secured through a questionnaire which, in addition to the usual questions regarding the student's personal characteristics, school class, membership in organizations, socio-economic status, and plans after completing high school, called for the following information:

1. Name three students whom you would like to have represent your high school next week at a big national meeting of high school students.

[1] "Ethnic" is used throughout this study to include racial and religious classifications as regards the six groups here selected for analysis. "Jewish" was defined as any person who (a) checked "Jewish" in the list of ethnic backgrounds; (b) answered affirmatively the question regarding Jewish church attendance; or (c) belonged to an organization avowedly Jewish.

[2] More detailed figures on the composition of the population may be found in Lenore Dickson, *Social Distance in Two Seattle High Schools*, M.A. Thesis, unpublished. University of Washington library, 1951. The religious classification was made on the basis of answers to the question, "If you go to church, which church?"

2. If all the students were asked to help on a school picnic, which three students would you like to work with?

3. If you could have a *date* with *anyone in this school,* which three people would you choose?

4. Who are your three best friends in this high school (boys or girls)? [3]

The questionnaires were administered by the teachers, after an explanatory statement, during first period classes. No attempt was made to give the questionnaire to absentees. However, school officials gave us their file of advisor's cards which gave most of the data (other than answers to the choice questions) for the absent individuals.[4]

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[3] This was followed by a fifth question: "If you think any of the students you listed in question 4 will choose you as one of their best friends, place an X in front of their names." The results of this question are not included in the present paper but will appear in a subsequent article which will also report the results of a question regarding negative choices, i.e., people *disliked.* See G. Lundberg and L. Dickson, "Further Observations of Interethnic Relations in a High School Population," *American Journal of Sociology,* May 1952.

[4] Since choices might include anyone enrolled, regardless of whether he was present or absent on the day of the study, the percentages and computations in subsequent tables are based on the full enrollment (1544) rather than on the 88% who completed questionnaires. A comparison of the personal characteristics of absentees (information supplied by school records) with similar characteristics of students in attendance revealed that the absentees differed to a statistically significant degree (at the .01 level) from students present on the day the questionnaire was given, in the following respects: The absentees were characterized by a higher proportion of (a) non-Jewish Whites and Chinese, (b) males, (c) scholastic honor society, and (f) persons whose parents were not owners, managers, or professional workers. The fact that older students, but not those farther along in school, were more likely to be absent, seems to indicate that being older than one's classmates is a contributing factor toward absenteeism. On the basis of our findings on factors associated with ethnocentrism, we should predict that absentees—especially the non-Jewish Whites— are less ethnocentric than the average high school student. On the basis of our study at another high school on factors making for unpopularity, it appears that the unpopularity of absentees is due, in part, to certain of their personal and social characteristics. In view of the fact that our sample included 88% of the total population, the results given

The first general objective was to answer the question: What is the relative degree of ethnocentrism of the different ethnic groups with respect to choosing leaders, work partners, dates, and best friends? To answer this question the number of choices which each ethnic group gave (a) to itself and, (b) to each other group on each of the four questions, were tabulated. The Criswell self-preference index[5] was then computed for each ethnic group on each of these questions. The word "ethnocentrism" in this paper is defined entirely in terms of the Criswell index.

A second general question which the study undertook to answer was the following: What characteristics are associated with choosing members of out-groups, and what characteristics are associated with ethnocentrism? Since the comparatively small number of members of the different minorities permitted a more intensive analysis of their characteristics,[6] only the data for non-

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below could not, of course, be biased by more than 12% in any of the respects given above. (Actually, about one-third of the "absentees" had dropped out of school, so that only about 8% were absent in the usual sense).

[5] Criswell, Joan H., "Sociometric Methods in Measuring Group Preferences," *Sociometry,* 6:398– 408, November 1943. This index interprets the actual distribution of choices in relation to the distribution which would occur by chance. This is a double ratio given by the formula shown below. This index varies from zero to infinity. A value of 1 indicates that the in-group has no preference one way or another between itself and the out-group. A value of less than 1 indicates that the out-group is preferred, and a value greater than 1 indicates self-preference or ethnocentrism. For a detailed discussion of the mathematical and logical implications of the Criswell index, see Paul Lazarsfeld, "Some Notes on the Use of Indices in Social Research," (mimeographed, 24 pp., Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, 1948). "If there were few out-group choices, one more or less makes much difference. If there are already many, the index plays down the adding or subtracting of one more."

[6] Reported in the following M.A. Theses, University of Washington Library: Marilyn Graalfs, *A Sociometric Study of Chinese Students in a Polyethnic High School;* Virginia Hertzler, *A Sociometric Study of Japanese Students in a Polyethnic High School;* Jessie Reichel, *A Sociometric Study of Jewish Students in a Polyethnic High School.*

$$\frac{\text{Number of choices given to In-group}}{\text{Number of choices given to Out-group}} \div \frac{\text{Number of people in In-group}}{\text{Number of people in Out-group}}$$

Jewish Whites were subjected to machine tabulation. For each non-Jewish White an IBM card was punched giving his background characteristics, and, for each question, whether he chose (a) no one, (b) only other non-Jewish Whites, or (c) one or more out-group persons. Then cross-tabulations were made for each question for each background characteristic according to whether the individual made an out-group choice or not. The hypothesis of no association was then tested for each table by the Chi-square technique using the .05 critical level.

For the minority groups the technique used was similar enough to allow a comparison.[7] Each choice was classified according to whether it was given to the in-group or to the out-group (i.e. other groups taken as a whole). Then, as for the majority group, the hypothesis that there was no association between each characteristic and out-group choosing was tested by the Chi-square technique, again using the .05 level of significance.

As will appear below, the data when analyzed yield answers to a very large number of specific questions in addition to the general questions discussed above. Examination of the principal questions of choice will show that the first three questions pose hypothetical situations, whereas the fourth question asks for information about an actually existing situation. Also, the relationships of leadership, work-partnership, dating, and friendship were selected on the hypothesis that each of their relationships arouse different degrees of in-group and out-group attitudes. That is, we were interested to discover whether and to what extent (a) in-group attitudes vary according to the relationship specified and (b) whether the order of variation is the same for all groups. For example, do all groups show highest ethnocentrism on dating and lowest on choice of leaders? What is the social distance (as measured by the Criswell index) of each group to every other group in each of the four relationships into

which inquiry was made? Numerous other questions to which the data yield answers will be specified as they arise.

THE DATA AND DISCUSSION

1. *Frequency and Overlapping of Choices.* The students answering the questionnaire chose 3,489 friends, 3,432 leaders, 3,199 work partners, and 2,352 dates.[8]

Some evidence of the degree to which each of the four questions did, in fact, tap different areas or degrees of sociability may be found in the extent to which students chose the same or different persons on each question. The frequency with which the same person was picked on each pair of questions was as follows:

1. Work-Friendship 1010
2. Work-Leadership 632
3. Leadership-Friendship 374
4. Work-Dating 259
5. Leadership-Dating 232
6. Dating-Friendship 143

By far the most popular combination was Work-Friendship, which is followed in frequency by Work-Leadership. It may be that students have two criteria in mind when choosing persons with whom to work, namely, (a) someone they like—a friend, and (b) someone who will get the work done. The latter may also be a principal quality desired in a leader, hence the high duplication of choices for work partners and leaders. On the other hand, only comparatively infrequently do students appear to feel that the person desired for leadership must be also their friend, and even less frequently do they feel that they would care to date with the person they have chosen for leadership. Likewise, they apparently find that the sentimental aspect of dating is not compatible with the best work relationship.

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[7] In the case of the minorities, (on account of their relatively small numbers) *choices* rather than *choosers* were classified according to the same classifications as were employed in the majority group. This might result in slightly exaggerating the figures of out-group choices on the part of minorities as compared with the method used for the majority.

[8] The relatively low number of choices of dates is probably attributable to several considerations: (1) The younger group has not yet become involved in this relationship. (2) A number of students indicated they preferred dating with people outside of high school. (3) A number of students indicated loyalty to only one date by refusing to name more than one choice on this question. (4) The dating question was regarded as more personal than the rest and was admittedly more frequently not answered for this reason. Also, since dates are limited to the opposite sex, there is a smaller total to choose from.

TABLE 1. GENERAL (CRISWELL) INDEX OF SELF-PREFERENCE FOR EACH ETHNIC GROUP ON EACH QUESTION

Ethnic Group	Leadership	Work	Dating	Friendship
Non-Jewish White	8.5	8.5	14.7	6.3
Chinese	3.2	12.2	34.1	47.8
Japanese	2.7	6.2	12.2	53.2
Jewish	1.2	3.6	3.7	16.7
Negro	7.4	10.6	22.4	66.4

Least of all do they find the same person in the role of both friend and date.[9]

Out of the 10,139 total choices made, there were (a) 8,120 cases in which the individual was chosen on only one question by the same chooser. This indicates that the questions used were rather effective in distinguishing different roles and the extent to which different persons are thought of as best fulfilling different roles. (b) In 1,724 cases the same individual was chosen on two questions by the same person; (c) in 280 cases the same individual was chosen on three questions by the same person; and (d) in only 15 cases was the same individual chosen on all four questions by the same person. The most common three-question combination was leadership-work-friendship; 194 such cases occurred.

2. *The Choices of the Different Ethnic Groups on Each of the Four Questions.* The general index of self-preference for each of the ethnic groups (as against all outsiders taken together) on each question is given in Table 1. Every ethnic group showed a preference for its own members in each of the four relationships covered by the questions (i.e., all the indices are more than 1.0).

We find the lowest ethnocentrism is shown by Jews in choosing leaders, and the greatest by Negroes in choosing friends. It may be that Jews, being relatively popular with the rest of the school, are friendly in return, while Negroes, who were very infrequently chosen as friends by the other groups, retaliated by making few out-group choices of friends. If so, however, the Negroes appear to have over-compensated in their retaliation because they were conspicuously *more* disposed to avoid choosing friends among other groups than these other groups avoided choosing Negroes as friends, as will appear below. (But see footnote 11 for an important qualification of the conclusions from Table 1.)

The rank of each ethnic group with respect to their ethnocentrism on each of the four questions is shown in Table 2.

We find that Jews are relatively non-ethnocentric on all questions, and Negroes

TABLE 2. ETHNIC GROUPS RANKED FROM HIGH TO LOW ETHNOCENTRISM ON EACH QUESTION

Leadership	Work	Dating	Friendship
Non-Jewish White	Chinese	Chinese	Negro
Negro	Negro	Negro	Japanese
Chinese	Non-Jewish White	Non-Jewish White	Chinese
Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Jewish
Jewish	Jewish	Jewish	Non-Jewish White

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[9] From one point of view, dating might be expected to represent a *preferred* friend. However, the data indicate that this is not necessarily so among high school students of the type included in this study. There is reason to believe that the words "date" and "friend" represent to these high school students at least, rather exclusive categories of different types. For example, friends are chosen predominantly from among persons of the same sex; dates are, by definition, of the other sex.

relatively ethnocentric. The relative position of the other groups varied from question to question—especially that of the non-Jewish Whites, who were the most ethnocentric group in choosing leaders but the least ethnocentric in choosing friends.

Relative friendliness among the ethnic groups is shown in Table 3. For each ethnic group on each question the four out-groups

are ranked from most-liked to least-liked, as indicated by the self-preference indices given in parentheses. For example, on leadership the ethnocentrism index of the non-Jewish Whites with respect to Chinese was 18.7; with respect to Japanese 25.3; with respect to Jews 6.0; and with respect to Negroes 6.5. Therefore, we can say that non-Jewish

and by all but the Chinese on other questions.

Non-Jewish Whites and Jews liked each other best (next to themselves) on all questions. Japanese liked Chinese best, (next to themselves) as friends and second only to non-Jewish Whites on the other questions, while Chinese liked Japanese best (next to

TABLE 3. RELATIVE FRIENDLINESS AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN CHOOSING LEADERS, WORK PARTNERS, DATES, AND FRIENDS

Ranking From Most-Liked to Least-Liked of Each Group by Group in Stub of Table
(In Terms of Criswell Index)

Ethnic Group of Choosers	Most-Liked	Second Most-Liked	Third Most-Liked	Least Liked
Leadership				
Non-Jewish White	Jewish (6.0)	Negro (6.5)	Chinese (18.7)	Japanese (25.3)
Chinese	Non-Jewish White (2.4)	Negro (6.0)	Jewish (9.6)	Japanese (20.5)
Japanese	Non-Jewish White (2.0)	Chinese (4.4)	Negro (4.5)	Jewish (16.8)
Jewish	Non-Jewish White (0.9)	Negro (5.3)	Chinese (8.9)	Japanese (24.0)
Negro	Non-Jewish White (5.3)	Jewish (26.0)	Chinese (27.3)	Japanese (36.9)
Work				
Non-Jewish White	Jewish (5.9)	Chinese (9.5)	Negro (13.4)	Japanese (18.1)
Chinese	Non-Jewish White (9.5)	Japanese (12.3)	Jewish (40.5)	Negro (87.0)
Japanese	Non-Jewish White (4.9)	Chinese (5.3)	Jewish (14.9)	Negro (34.7)
Jewish	Non-Jewish White (2.7)	Negro (13.4)	Chinese (16.9)	Japanese (34.2)
Negro	Non-Jewish White (7.7)	Jewish (31.1)	Chinese (65.3)	Japanese (66.2)
Dating				
Non-Jewish White	Jewish (6.9)	Chinese (22.9)	Negro (102.6)	Japanese (116.2)
Chinese	Japanese (25.3)	Non-Jewish White (27.7)	Jewish (62.4)	Negro*
Japanese	Non-Jewish White (9.0)	Chinese (9.3)	Jewish (62.0)	Negro*
Jewish	Non-Jewish White (2.6)	Chinese (27.0)	Japanese-Negro*	Negro-Japanese*
Negro	Non-Jewish White (15.4)	Jewish (112.4)	Japanese (136.9)	Chinese*
Friendship				
Non-Jewish White	Jewish (4.3)	Chinese (6.4)	Japanese (11.6)	Negro (12.6)
Chinese	Japanese (33.9)	Jewish (55.7)	Non-Jewish White (57.2)	Negro (179.5)
Japanese	Chinese (22.8)	Non-Jewish White (57.4)	Jewish (76.1)	Negro (81.8)
Jewish	Non-Jewish White (13.5)	Chinese (23.5)	Japanese (57.2)	Negro (126.3)
Negro	Non-Jewish White (61.0)	Jewish (72.8)	Chinese (131.2)	Japanese (132.9)

Table reads: For leadership Non-Jewish Whites prefer, among the minority groups, Jews first, Negroes second, Chinese third, and Japanese least.

* The asterisk indicates that no choices at all were given to that group by the group in stub of table (i.e. the index is infinity).

Whites like Jews best (or dislike them least), Negroes second, Chinese third, and Japanese least.

Non-Jewish Whites were the most chosen group on leadership, work, and dating, but were chosen only moderately frequently on friendship. Negroes were second highest in choices of leaders but very little chosen on the other three questions. Japanese were also disliked—by all groups on leadership,

themselves), as friends and dates, second best as work partners, and less than any other out-group as leaders. Racial similarity would seem to account for these friendships. Less easy to explain is the marked antipathy which Japanese and Jews showed each other on all questions; perhaps the fact that both groups value scholastic success and also that they are the two largest minority groups in school make for competition.

The most interesting of the interethnic

relations were those between the non-Jewish Whites and each of the minorities.[10] Table 3 shows that in choosing leaders, work-partners, and dates, non-Jewish Whites showed more prejudice toward Japanese, Jews, and Negroes than these minorities showed toward them. But in choosing friends, non-Jewish White prejudice toward the minorities was less than that of the prejudice of the minorities toward the non-Jewish White. (Non-Jewish White prejudice toward Chinese was greater than Chinese prejudice toward non-Jewish White on leadership, equal on work, and less on dating and friendship.)

One possible interpretation of this finding is that the minorities desire more contact with the majority group than as desired in return (as evidenced by the minorities' lower self-preference on the first three [hypothetical] questions); but in the actual situation —friendship—they do not choose from the majority group as frequently (relatively) as the majority choose from the minorities. This may be due to over-compensation for rebuffs received when making overtures to the majority *in other relations*. Extreme ethnocentrism on the part of minorities in the choice of friends may be a sort of defense mechanism from the ethnocentrism of other groups *in other relationships*.

As regards the choices by specific ethnic groups of members of other ethnic groups, in only a single case did members of an ethnic group prefer a specific out-group to themselves, and then only on the leadership question. This was the case of Jews indicating a small degree of preference (Criswell Index .9, Table 3) for non-Jewish Whites as leaders. All other minority groups chose

leaders most frequently from the non-Jewish Whites, next to their own group. Non-Jewish Whites chose leaders from among the Jews most frequently, next to themselves. The Japanese were proportionally least chosen as leaders by all the groups, perhaps in part because they had been away in relocation centers until three years before the time of the study and in the length of time since their return had not been able to establish themselves in the political life of the school. Every group ranked the Negroes second or third in preference rank in their choice of leaders. These results may be explained, at least in part, by the fact that there were in the school two exceptionally popular Negro boys prominent in school activities.

3. *Comparison of In-group and Out-group Choosing on the Four Questions.* All minority groups were least ethnocentric in choosing leaders, but became progressively ethnocentric in choosing work partners, dates, and friends. On the other hand, the non-Jewish White majority were least ethnocentric in choosing friends, showed an increased but equal degree of ethnocentrism in choosing leaders and work partners, and showed their highest degree of ethnocentrism in choosing dates.

One possible explanation of this difference between the majority and the minorities in this respect might be that the majority, feeling secure in its status, can afford the luxury of uninhibited choice of friends, regardless of the minority status of these friends. The minorities, however, do not reciprocate by corresponding freedom in choosing friends from the white majority or from other outgroups. The freedom of choice of friends on the part of the majority group does not extend, however, to the choice of dates, in which relationship they show greater ethnocentrism than Jews and Japanese, but less than the Negroes and the Chinese.

At least part of the explanation of these results may be found in the fact that while the questions regarding leaders, work partners, and dates are hypothetical ("*If* you could have a date with anyone in this school whom would you choose?") whereas the question regarding friends asks for a present fact ("Who *are* your best friends?"). For whatever reason (feelings of insecurity, deliberate cultivation of ethnocentrism, etc.), it

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[10] Of the 786 Non-Jewish Whites who filled in questionnaires, 466, or 59.3 per cent, did not choose even one minority person on any of the four questions. Since non-Jewish Whites constitute 59 per cent of the school enrollment, the probability of one choice going to a non-Jewish White is .59 if chance alone were operating. But the students made an average of 9.2 choices. Therefore, the chance probability of one student choosing only non-Jewish Whites is $(.59)^{9.2}$ or .0039. Multiplying by 786 (the number of non-Jewish Whites who filled out questionnaires) we find that by chance only 3.07 (rather than 466) would have made no out-group choices. The difference between 3 and 466 represents in a sense a measure of the "consciousness of kind" among the non-Jewish Whites.

remains a significant fact that *our data show, for all minorities, a greater ethnocentrism in the choice of friends than is shown by the majority group.* It may be that the mere fact of being consciously a member of a minority causes one to draw together with other numbers of that minority, and that this tendency becomes more pronounced as the minority is smaller in size. That is, ethnocentrism may be a sort of struggle for cultural survival, becoming more intense as the survival is threatened.[11]

4. *Characteristics Associated with Out-Group Choosing.* In spite of the general preference of each ethnic group for leaders, work partners, dates, and friends drawn from their own group, each of the ethnic groups chose *some* of these associates from out-groups. This raises the question: Within each ethnic group, how do persons who make out-groups choices differ from those who make only in-group choices? For reasons of space only the most general conclusions are presented below.[12]

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[11] This hypothesis is supported by the findings of the study mentioned in footnote 3. A further qualification to the statement italicized above should be made, namely, that the frequent mutual out-group choosing between *the two white groups* operates to give them relatively low indices of ethnocentrism, which increase if the non-Jewish White and the Jewish groups are combined. For example, the Criswell index for the white group *as a whole* rises to 45 on dating, as against 14.7 and 3.7 (Table 1) for Non-Jewish Whites and Jews respectively. The ethnocentrism index (Criswell) on the other questions is affected only relatively slightly by the combination of the Jewish with the other white group. A combination of the Japanese and Chinese results in reducing their ethnocentrism index on all questions. Of course this does not contradict the findings as reported above, but does indicate that the pronounced line of cleavage on dating, at least, is the color line.

[12] The full data comprising some 32 tables and 210 computed chi-squares are available in Lenore Dickson, *op. cit.* To answer the question stated above, the out-group choosers and the in-group choosers of each ethnic group were compared, by sex, on each of 28 categories representing sub-classes of the following characteristics:
1. Age and school class
2. Nationality (Did ancestors come only from Northwestern Europe or did they come from some other part of the world?)
3. Membership in organizations (School, church, other organization outside of school)
4. Socio-economic status (Occupation of parents,

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NON-JEWISH WHITES WHO MADE OUT-GROUP CHOICES

Eighteen and eight-tenths per cent of the non-Jewish White group chose members of some out-group for leaders. Twenty-six per cent of these out-group choosers were males, 12.6 per cent females (difference significant at .05 level). Similar results (23 per cent and 13.9 per cent) were found on the question of work partner. On the dating question, the per cent of out-group choices falls to about 10 per cent for both sexes with no significant difference in per cent of male and female choosers. The lowest ethnocentrism is found among both sexes in choosing friends (males 28.8 per cent, females 15 per cent) again with a statistically significant difference between the sexes.

(1) Of the twenty-eight factors tested, five were not significantly associated with out-group choosing by either sex, on any of the four questions. These five factors were: church attended, church activities participated in, membership in Masonic organizations, membership in "Y" sponsored organizations, and whether ancestors came only from Northwestern Europe or from some other part of the world.

(2) None of the factors was significantly associated with out-group choosing by both sexes on all four questions. The most nearly universally significant factors were membership in a fraternity, sorority, or other exclusive club. Such membership is, among all groups and both sexes, associated with ethnocentrism, with one minor exception, namely, in the case of females choosing leaders. In all other groups and relationships *there was a significant positive association between not belonging to fraternal groups and out-group choosing.*

(3) A boy was more likely to choose into the out-group on all four questions if he (a) did not belong to a fraternity or indeed (b) to any club at all outside of school and (c) if he lived in a census tract characterized by a high per cent of laborers, persons seeking

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mother working, student working part-time, living in census tract of known socio-economic status as determined by 11 indices)
5. Propinquity with Negroes and other minorities
6. Intelligence — intellectualism (Membership in scholastic honor society and plan to attend college).

work, and dwelling units without mechanical refrigeration or central heating.

(4) None of the 28 factors tested was significantly associated with out-group choosing by the girls on all questions.

(5) The factors chosen for study seemed to function much better in differentiating between boys who chose out-group members and those who chose only non-Jewish Whites than in similarly differentiating between the girls. For the boys a significant association was found in 63 of the 100 Chi-square tests made; but for the girls a significant association was found in only 15 of the 104 similar tests. Even excluding the 88 tests pertaining to characteristics of the census tract in which a student lived, the ratio is still 24 significant factors for the boys and only 14 for the girls.

The significance of each of the seven *principal* characteristics here tested for their association with out-group choosing by the non-Jewish Whites may be summarized as follows:

(1) Sex. On all questions but dating, boys were more likely to make out-group choices than the girls were. To explain this phenomenon several hypotheses may be advanced. Perhaps boys were less bound by convention than girls, hence, more likely to disregard taboos against inter-ethnic contact. That is, boys may feel more secure and may not be so fearful of losing their own prestige by choosing persons of lower social status. Again, it may be that boys of high school age are less mature than girls, and it has been shown that the younger (i.e., less mature) students are more likely than older ones to choose from the out-group. Another significant consideration may be the fact that a smaller per cent of boys than of girls belong to organizations outside of school, for it has been shown that ethnocentrism is positively correlated with membership in such clubs.

(2) Age and School-Class. For each sex and question, a chi-square test was applied first to age and then to class, a total of sixteen chi-square tests. In nine of these we found the younger, lower school-class students significantly more likely to make out-group choices than were their older, junior-senior classmates. This finding that ethnocentrism increases with age has already been pretty well established in other ethnic studies. The explanation usually given is that

as part of the process of socialization, children become increasingly aware of the cleavages which exist in the adult world and adjust their own behavior to conform.

(3) Nationality. For both sexes on all four questions no significant difference was found between the extent of the out-group choosing by students designating their ancestry as Northwestern European as compared with ancestry from some other part of the world.

(4) Membership in Organizations. In 23 out of 53 tests of significance it was found that membership in organizations made for ethnocentrism—that is, that non-members were more likely to make out-group choices. Excluding the 16 tests pertaining to church organizations, we find 23 out of 37 tests significant. This relationship was especially pronounced in the cases of membership in the more intimate social groups (sororities and fraternities). The data appear to confirm the common sense generalization that membership in an in-group, the essence of which is exclusiveness, must limit freedom of choice in out-groups. There was one notable exception to this finding; among girls in choosing leaders, it was the members, not the non-members, of the scholastic honor society who were more likely to make out-group choices. Since membership in the honor society is determined by how well a student does in his studies rather than by his interests or friendships, this finding is not actually an exception to the rule stated above.

(5) Socio-Economic Status. Fifteen different measures of socio-economic status (11 of them ecological) were tested for each sex on each of the four questions. Of the 60 tests for boys, 45 showed a significant association between low status and out-group choosing. But of the 60 similar tests for girls, only one was significant. Girls living in census tracts with a high percentage of Negroes were more likely to make out-group choices than those living elsewhere. This seems to indicate that *all* girls are bound by the social proprieties, but only boys of high status tend to be similarly restricted. There are many possible reasons why high socio-economic status might be correlated with high ethnocentrism: (a) Students living in poorer neighborhoods come into contact with more minority persons; (b) mothers who work

outside the home cannot supervise their children's choices of friends as well as house-wives can; and (c) students who have jobs themselves do not have time or other re-sources to join "social" groups, which, as we have seen, operate to restrict frequency of out-group choices.

(6) Residential Propinquity with Negroes and Minority Students. In choosing work partners, dates, and friends, boys who lived in census tracts which had a high percentage of Negroes or other minorities were less ethnocentric than those living in other areas. But on leadership, the ethnic composition of a boy's neighborhood was not significantly associated with his ethnocentrism. This may be due to the fact that choosing a leader is not based on personal contact with the per-son chosen; therefore, the amount of contact a person has with the out-group will not influence his leadership choices, but may have a considerable effect on his other choices. The number of Negroes or members of other minorities living in a girl's neighbor-hood did not significantly influence her ethnocentrism except in one respect: The per cent of Negroes in the census tract was positively correlated with the tendency of girls to make out-group choices of work partners.

(7) Intelligence-Intellectualism. Results were inconclusive on this subject. Of 15 tests made, only three showed a significant degree of association. Girls belonging to the scholastic honor society chose out-group leaders significantly more than did non-members, and boys who did not plan to at-tend college chose out-group co-workers and friends significantly more than did the other boys. There seems to have been a definite demarcation between leadership and the other three questions. Intelligent or intel-lectual students seem to be more likely to evaluate leadership qualities without preju-dice. However, this does not seem to carry over into the more intimate situations, which, it may be noted, are usually formed on a less intellectual basis.

To summarize: Among the non-Jewish White there was a tendency for groups with the following characteristics to make out-group choices significantly more frequently than was the case in the population as a whole: (a) males, (b) persons under 16 years of age, (c) freshmen and sophomores, (d) persons not belonging to organizations, and (e) boys—but not girls!—with low socio-economic status.

OUT-GROUP CHOICES BY THE MINORITIES

The characteristics of out-group choosers among the minorities can best be presented in comparison with the findings of the pre-ceding section regarding the characteristics of out-group choosers among the non-Jewish White majority. (All differences noted are significant at the .05 level).

(1) Sex. Except for the Japanese, boys were less ethnocentric than girls in all the ethnic groups. This was especially marked in the Negro group where they were signifi-cantly less ethnocentric than girls on all four questions.

(2) Class. With respect to school class, findings for non-Jewish Whites were in direct contrast with those for the minorities. In the non-Jewish White group it was the freshman and sophomore students rather than juniors or seniors who were more likely to make out-group choices; in the minorities, out-group choices were most often made by upperclassmen. However, this tendency for minority juniors and seniors to make more out-group choices than freshman and sopho-mores was true only on the prestige ques-tions—leadership, work, and dating; class and ethnocentrism of minorities were not significantly associated on friendship. These findings indicate that all students, regardless of whether they belong to the majority or to a minority, give more choices to the majority, on prestige questions, as they advance in school. In other words, as they mature, they acknowledge, and hence reinforce, the pres-tige of the established leaders.

(3) Age. In general the same tendencies noticed with respect to class were found true for the different age groups. In the majority group, lower (school) class and younger students were most likely to make out-group choices, in the minority groups, it was the upper (school) class and older students who made the most out-group choices. The one exception was that "middle-aged" Jews were more likely than either older or younger ones to choose non-Jews as leaders.

(4) Church Attended. This factor was significantly associated with out-group

choosing only for the ethnic group which was differentiated on the basis of religion— the Jews. Logically enough, it was the Jews who did not attend church who were least ethnocentric in religion.

(5) Office-Holding. Non-Jewish Whites who did not hold offices were more likely than officers to make out-group choices. There was no significant association between out-group choosing and office holding in the minority groups except that Japanese officers were more likely than non-officers to choose non-Japanese work-partners, which contradicts the findings for the majority group.

(6) Participation in School Activities. Members of school organizations were more ethnocentric than non-members if they were non-Jewish White, Japanese, or Negro, less ethnocentric if they were Chinese, and equally ethnocentric if Jewish.

(7) Plans After Graduation. Non-Jewish White boys who intended to go to college were more ethnocentric than other boys. Chinese who plan to go to college were less ethnocentric than other Chinese. Plans after graduation and out-group choosing were not associated for non-Jewish White girls, Japanese, Jews, and Negroes.

On the basis of the above findings, we can roughly classify our factors into two groups: (1) those which make for ethnocentrism in both the majority and minorities, and (2) those which make for ethnocentrism in one, out-group choosing in the other.

In the first class, we would definitely place sex. Girls were more ethnocentric than boys, in all groups except the Japanese. And, tentatively, we would also place here membership in organizations. Being tied up with an in-group organization—religious in the case of Jews, secular for Japanese, Negroes and non-Jewish Whites—seems to make for less out-group choosing; the exception to this rule was the tendency for Chinese who belonged to school organizations to be less ethnocentric than non-members. This result may be due to the fact that members of the strictly-Chinese Cathay club (which probably wields strong influence) were classified as non-members.

In the class of factors which make for opposite tendencies with respect to ethnocentrism in the majority and minority groups,

we find class and age. The greater the age and class in school, the greater the ethnocentrism of non-Jewish Whites, and the lesser the ethnocentrism of the minorities. Plans after graduation and office-holding may also be placed tentatively in this class. Non-Jewish Whites who planned to go to college and Chinese who did not plan on college tended to be more ethnocentric than their opposites; and non-Jewish White officers, Japanese non-officers also tended to be ethnocentric.

CONCLUSION

The extent to which the facts and conclusions reported above are applicable to other populations in contemporary American society, or, for that matter, to other cultures in other times and places, is of course a matter to be determined by specific studies. To some extent the applicability of the findings of the present study to other populations may be inferred from data in the voluminous literature dealing with different aspects of the subject.[13] The specific factual findings and conclusions from the present study have been stated in the previous section. The following points may be regarded as partly a restatement of these conclusions, partly a suggestion of hypotheses for further study, and partly some theoretical observations on the subject as a whole.

(1) There probably is no such thing as ethnocentrism or prejudice *in general*. Ethnocentrism or prejudice probably is always an attitude toward *specific relationships* (e.g., the Negro in the South may be *preferred* for certain employment).

(2) Ethnocentrism or prejudice is not confined to the majority or the dominant group. These attitudes are frequently stronger *in all the relationships here tested* (except leadership) among minority groups (a) toward the majority (e.g., Negro atti-

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[13] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations.* Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, 1947. (Includes Bibliography of 223 items.) See also among more recent studies Leo Silberman and Betty Spice, *Color and Class in Six Liverpool Schools,* University of Liverpool Press, 1950.

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tudes toward Whites as friends) and (b) toward other minorities (e.g., the attitude of Jews toward Japanese and vice versa).

(3) While the non-Jewish White majority exhibit ethnocentrism of various degrees toward the different minorities, there is reason to believe that this same non-Jewish White group also exhibits similar or higher degrees of exclusion against particular groups or classes within their own non-Jewish White group.[14] For example, a small group of students from an exclusive residential area showed as great enthocentrism with respect to the rest of the non-Jewish White group as they showed toward some of the minorities. This raises the interesting and difficult question as to whether civic programs aiming to abolish prejudice against certain minorities should also be directed at equally exclusive or prejudicial behavior within different strata of the majority group. Also, the question may be raised as to the justification of campaigns on behalf of minorities who themselves practice a higher degree of discrimination against the majority group or against other minorities than is practiced against themselves.

It may be, of course, that the discriminations of the minorities against the majority, or against each other, even when it is pronounced, is relatively innocuous to the community, as compared with the converse situation. But any comprehensive study of prejudice, discrimination, and ethnocentrism, *per se,* must include both aspects. The question of what should be done, if anything, about the group cleavages and prejudices that are found becomes, then, a practical question of what the standards and attitudes of the community demand. Unless, therefore, reform organizations make clear, both to

themselves and to others, just what specific discriminations they are out to abolish, and what degree of such discrimination they regard as unwarranted, they may be regarded as largely romantic movements dedicated to the abolition of the universal phenomenon of selective association ("discrimination", "prejudice", unrequited love, etc.,) as suffered by a particular minority. To the extent, also, that a particular minority is unwilling themselves to abstain from the same types of discrimination as that of which they complain, they merely place themselves in the unfortunate position of seeking special privileges and immunities.

(4) Accordingly, it is suggested that future discussion and action on the general subject of race and inter-ethnic relations had better be guided by more intensive inquiry into the precise nature of the relationships that exist with reference to the norms accepted by all parties. Two questions would appear to be relevant: (1) Is the discrimination complained of greater or more unwarranted than that practiced against other particular classes *within the majority group?* If not, should the proposed reform be equally concerned about these other discriminations? (2) Is the discrimination in question of a character recognized by the existing laws, mores, and institutions as clearly within the province of personal preference and choice? The denial to a minority for ethnic or racial reasons of the right to vote under the present laws and institutions of the United States, is clearly one thing. Discriminations of various groups against each other in such relationships as have been studied above is equally certainly another matter.

The traditional freedom of choice of associates in these primary group relationships is quite as fully guaranteed by our laws and constitutions as is the right of citizens to vote. Indeed, there is much evidence that free, spontaneous choice of primary group associates is vital both to personal adjustment and to satisfactory group functioning and productivity. At the same time some fraternal organizations, represented perhaps in their most absurd form by school fraternities and sororities, are probably a nuisance from many community standpoints. As long as such organizations are tolerated, however, and if it can be shown that they practice

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[14] Data on the subject will be presented in a subsequent paper reporting on the study mentioned in footnote 3. Since fraternities and sororities are forbidden in these high schools, the data secured on their membership was unreliable. Nevertheless, Criswell indices for groups admitting membership in sororities and fraternities show definite ethnocentrism. See also Orvis Collins, "Ethnic Behavior in Industry" *American Journal of Sociology,* (Jan. 1946), 51:293–298, for a striking case of discrimination against a white group. The flagrant discrimination of Irish against "Yankees" reported by Collins is precisely of the same type which when it occurs to certain organized minorities becomes the basis for widespread agitation.

exactly the same discriminations that become the object of civic attack when practiced by ethnic groups, the ground for singling out the latter for special attention must be clearly indicated. As for the attempts to reform or abolish the discriminations of fraternal organizations, this is about as absurd as to attempt to abolish the wetness of water or the coldness of ice. Since exclusiveness is the essence of fraternal organizations, as indeed it is inherent in the basic concept of "in-group", attempts to abolish the discriminatory behaviors that constitute exclusiveness and at the same time defend the "freedom" of such association is self-contradictory and ridiculous.

The first step in a scientific approach to conflicts between in-group and out-groups is to recognize that it is hopelessly contradictory for any group (1) to desire to maintain an exclusive group identity *of any kind,* and *at the same time* (2) to expect no differential (discriminatory) behavior toward itself on the basis of precisely the exclusive identity sought. This basic consideration does not abolish either the fact of conflict or the desirability of doing what *may* be done about it, through education, agitation, legislation, etc. Recognition of the basic nature of the problem, however, affords the only sound basis for action. Action which seeks to advance *mutually exclusive* values is simply psychopathic.

Thus we are confronted with the unpleasant fact that every gain in the abolition of prejudice may represent a value sacrificed on some other front. The right of a group to exclude from a housing area (from clubs, from employment, from fraternizing, etc.) whatever classification of people they wish to exclude, *for whatever reason or lack of reason,* may be neither "rational", "just", "democratic", or conducive to community peace and good feeling. Yet, to deny them this right *may* violate a principle of individual freedom which is still more highly valued by nearly everyone, *including* most of the minority, the race, the religious or ethnic groups which object to the practice as it operates against themselves. In short, they too, value the principle of freedom to discriminate in these matters and merely want

exemption from its operation against themselves.[15]

To recognize this fundamental conflict in values is not tantamount either to defending present values or advocating others. The authors of this paper get no satisfaction from any of the discriminations mentioned above or throughout this paper, as well as many others current in our society, and would be glad to see them disappear. We merely point out that the achievement of such a goal involves a *cost* in the incidental abandonment of that set of privileges or freedoms which today constitutes the discriminatory behavior. For it must not be forgotten that these behaviors *constitute values to those who practice the behavior*. As such, the issues of prejudice and discrimination that have been widely heralded as a special problem turns out to be another case of reconciling or choosing between conflicting values.

(5) The particular respects in which highly ethnocentric personalities differ from the less ethnocentric requires more intensive study than the comparison on the twenty-eight factors included in the present study. These factors were selected chiefly because of their objectivity and availability, and consequently their suitability for statistical study. In addition, there is needed intensive study of the pathologically ethnocentric personality by whatever methods promise to throw light on the differences that unquestionably exist in different persons regarding their willingness to choose associates from particular out-groups. Also, the *degree* of ethnocentrism which in a given culture at a given time is regarded as a problem needs to be carefully specified, because a certain amount of ethnocentrism is a normal and necessary ingredient of all group life, i.e., it is the basic characteristic that differentiates one group from another and thus is fundamental to social structure. Ethnocentrism ("discrimination," "prejudice") is, therefore, not in itself necessarily to be regarded

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[15] See, for example, the analysis of the conflict of proposed Federal Fair Employment Practices with the Bill of Rights, *Commentary of Donald R. Richberg on S 94,* (Pamphlet, To the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Oct. 10, 1947).

as a problem.[16] It is rather a question of determining *what degree* of it (a) is functional for social survival and satisfaction

under given conditions, or at least (b) is not regarded by a society as a problem in the sense of requiring community action. The amount of discrimination that has been shown to exist in the present study, for example, is not incompatible with the peaceful and efficient functioning of the institution in question.

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[16] See Percy Black and Ruth D. Atkins, "Conformity versus Prejudice in White-Negro Populations in the South: Some Methodological Considerations." *Journal of Psychology*, (1950), Vol. 30, 109–121.

TOWARD CAUSAL ANALYSIS IN THE PREDICTION OF ATTRIBUTES*

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IT is the thesis of this paper that correlation analysis can be made much more effective for predictive purposes if at the same time some attention is paid to the principles of causation. An attempt will be made to point out the commonly neglected logic that underlies the prediction of attributes (unmeasured traits or events), and a simple index will be derived of the power of an experience table (defined below) to predict individual behavior under stable causal conditions.

The simplest model for prediction is, of course, the repetition of a fully controlled experiment. It provides that the event to be predicted will be the result of a known and tested system of causes, and no other. To impose this model on the prediction of voting behavior, we would have to imagine a population of voters having a certain distribution of attitudes and subjected to a particular set of political influences, which (unrealistically) underwent no changes whatever between a first election and a second. A random sample of voters could be drawn from this population, and their voting behavior recorded at the first election. From this experience the voting behavior of the total population, in terms of the percentage that would vote, say, Democratic (but not necessarily

in terms of how any individual would vote), could then be known at the second election by merely inferring that it would be the same as that of the sample, except for sampling errors.

When they predict at all, sociologists usually not only try to predict what is going to happen in a complex situation over which they have no control, but they also seldom derive their predictions from the results of controlled experiments that seem most likely to apply to the situation. Even if they did the latter, they would still have to predict from one causal system to a more or less different one, and in doing so would have to allow for the differences. In all of this, success, apart from chance, depends upon the use of causal relationships, as well as representative sampling.

Election pollers commonly predict the vote from statements of voting intention. This is justified only if such statements are causally related to voting behavior. The accuracy of prediction will turn in part on the closeness and reliability of the relationship, and some estimate of it must be made before any faith can be placed in the prediction. It is possible, however, that the vote to be predicted may be more closely related to a second group of causes than to intent to vote; and an effort should be made to find the set of conditions with which the event is most nearly, or, if possible, exactly connected. For example, voting behavior might be predicted more accurately from the subjects' party affiliation or their acquaintance with election issues, or from a combination of these and

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voting intent, than from a statement of voting intent alone.

The art of discovering causal relationships depends first on familiarity with particular data, then on trying all likely causal conditions that suggest themselves, and screening them down to the smallest effective number. Systematic studies employing correlation techniques, occasionally aided by special methods such as multiple factor analysis, but with little attention to causation as such, have already been made to a limited extent in some sociological areas, e.g. prediction of success in marriage and on parole, and prediction of juvenile delinquency; but the best known election pollers, at least before 1948, have apparently regarded such procedures as unnecessary and academic.

Though the methods used in predicting, say, success on parole, have taken a variety of forms, with scoring devices especially popular, the essential logic in the case of attributes can best be shown by a contingency or experience table, e.g. a record of voting behavior at one or more elections, like Table 1, where D means Democratic, R means Republican, O means Others, and T means Total.

TABLE 1. EXPERIENCE TABLE

	Statement of Intent to Vote			
Voted	D	R	O	T
D	125	40	10	175
R	20	150	0	170
O	5	10	40	55
T	150	200	50	400

Taking the controlled experiment as the ideal design, the sample on which an experience table is based should consist of a large number of individuals drawn at random from a defined population, and assigned at random equally, or by matching, to the two or more columns of the table, before the several causal systems, each acting within its own column, are allowed to operate. Because the controlled experiment is still rare in sociological research, some compromise with this more rigorous model is usually necessary. The common method is to draw a large sample from a defined population (persons of voting age in a certain city on a given date), on which some of the pertinent causal

(attitude forming) conditions have already acted, and on which others are still acting or are yet to act, before the events to be predicted (voting behavior) have occurred. Such a sample may be taken by the so-called quota method, or by the more recent area-probability method.[1] In any case, certain characteristics of the members of the sample that seem to be related to the event to be predicted (voting behavior) are investigated, generally by interview. These characteristics (intent to vote D, R, or O in Table 1), which should be causal in nature,[2] are arranged by columns in an experience table, so that the same characteristics or causal conditions are presumably present in only one column and absent from all others; and the members of the sample are distributed among the columns according to their characteristics. The causal forces are allowed to finish their action, if they have not already done so, and the results (actual voting behavior D, R, or O) are recorded in the proper rows of each column. The experience table is then complete (see Table 1), except for any later revisions. If the sample is really representative, the resulting table may be used for predicting new behavior (elections), just as if the ideal method of the controlled experiment had been used, except that the probability that biased extraneous causal elements are now present in each column must be kept constantly in mind. This means that the consequences which seem to follow from a specified causal system in a given column may be wholly or partly due to unrecognized factors. It is accordingly always necessary to think in terms of the results of a defined column causal system and its unspecified causal associates, rather than in terms of the former alone. A partial compensation for this lack of control over the variables in the experience table is to try to discover as many as possible of the undefined causes present in a column, and to segregate or control them by subdivision of the column. This non-experimental approach may be thought of as

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[1] See reference 4 at end of article.

[2] This paper will not be concerned with the philosophical argument about the meaning and reality of a cause. The term is used in a purely pragmatic or operational sense, to refer to a set of conditions that is believed, with reason, to be partly or completely sufficient or necessary for the occurrence of a specified kind of event.

an attempt to unscramble a complex of past causes, followed by a testing of the causes so found by using them for prediction in an experience table.

How can a judgment be made regarding the amount of confidence which may be placed in an experience table as an instrument of prediction? Apart from the randomness and size of the samples used, it appears that the effectiveness of a table which uses one or more column factors to forecast an event varies with:

1. The presence of a statistically significant relationship within the table;

2. The evidence that the relationship is that of a sufficient and necessary cause and effect;

3. The power of the table to predict individual behavior under stable causal conditions;

4. The degree of sameness between the causal system producing the experience table and that producing the event to be predicted;

5. The extent to which the difference between the two causal systems can be reduced or allowed for; and

6. The accumulated record of success of the table and its revisions.

These criteria will be discussed in order, and the sections numbered to agree with the outline.

1. In the initial stage of cause hunting the row totals are useful as controls. For example, in Table 1 it may be asked to what extent the row total 175 was due to the supposed cause, statement of intent to vote D. If statement of intent had nothing to do with voting, then except for chance fluctuations one would expect the proportion that voted D to be the same among those who said they intended to vote D as among those in the row totals. The expected number would be $150 \times 175/400 = 66$. Since 125 in column D actually voted D, it would seem that at least $125 - 66 = 59$ voted D because of whatever causal factors lay behind their stated intent. Whether chance could reasonably account for a fluctuation as large as 59 in the upper left-hand cell, and for corresponding fluctuations in the other cells of Table 1, can be tested by the usual χ^2

(Chi-square) method. The expected values, f_t, are calculated and entered in Table 2.

TABLE 2. EXPECTED FREQUENCIES FOR TABLE 1

	D	R	O	T
D	65	88	22	175
R	64	85	21	170
O	21	27	7	55
T	150	200	50	400

Then $\chi^2 = \Sigma(f_o - f_t)^2/f_t = \dfrac{(125 - 65)^2}{65} + \dfrac{(20 - 64)^2}{64} + \dfrac{(5 - 21)^2}{21} + \dfrac{(40 - 88)^2}{88} + \dfrac{(150 - 85)^2}{85} + \dfrac{(10 - 27)^2}{27} + \dfrac{(10 - 22)^2}{22} + \dfrac{(0 - 21)^2}{21} + \dfrac{(40 - 7)^2}{7} = 367$, where f_o is any frequency in Table 1. For four degrees of freedom, a χ^2 of 9.49 is required at the 5% level, so the relationship in Table 1 is highly significant.

2. Having rejected by the χ^2 test the "null hypothesis" that chance might explain any apparent association in Table 1, it is next necessary to consider the logic of causation with reference to an experience table. The discussion will be directed to the problem of attaining the greatest possible power to predict, produce, or prevent a given event or set of events at will. In such a case, it will be assumed that the row totals play no active part, but are merely by-products of the systems of causal forces that operate within the columns of an experience table. The row totals are therefore omitted from the dynamic models, Tables 4 and 5 below, as irrelevant.

Where it is wanted to forecast a percentage, say a percentage of voters that will vote D in an election, there are two reasons for using the column categories, e.g. statements of intent to vote D, R, or O, instead of using the row total ratio, $175/400 = .44$ in Table 1: (1) the voters who fall in one column are believed to differ considerably from those who fall in another column in their probabilities of voting in any given way, and (2) the relative numbers of people in each of these columns are likely to shift between the population represented by the experience table and the population about which a prediction is to be made. To fore-

cast the percentage of voters that will vote D in a new election, if the T row of Table 3 represents a sample of voters taken just before the election, and if Table 1 is an experience table derived from a prior election, Table 1 may be applied to Table 3 as follows:

TABLE 3. STATEMENT OF INTENT TO VOTE

	D	R	O	T
T	130	140	30	300
%	43	47	10	100

$$\left[\frac{125(130)}{150} + \frac{40}{200}(140) + \frac{10(30)}{50}\right]\frac{1}{300} =$$
.47. It is, of course, assumed here that the frequencies within each column of Table 1 will retain the same relative values in the new election as in the table. Granting this, if the marginal fraction, 175/400, of Table 1 had been used as the prediction, there would have been an error of .47—.44=.03. Therefore, it may be said that the column factor of Table 1 increased the accuracy of prediction by three percentage points over what could have been done with the row totals. For the purpose of predicting individual behavior, the same reasons apply.

In forecasting percentage behavior, it is only necessary that the columns differ in their frequency patterns, and that these patterns do not change between the table and the situation to be forecast. It is true in this case, as well as in predicting individual behavior, however, that the more the columns differ from one another the more useful they are relative to the row totals, and this is reflected in the amount of association between the column and row factors in the table. When one is interested in predicting individual behavior, it is obvious that the amount of association is crucial. In both cases, also, high association may imply that the ratios between the frequencies within the columns are less likely to vary from one prediction to another. The amount of association in an experience table is therefore of primary importance for any kind of predictive use to which it may be put.

Whatever the amount of association within a table, the dependability of that association will rest upon the extent to which the column factor is a *cause* of the event to be predicted,

in the following sense. If the presence of a condition or set of conditions is always followed by the presence of a particular event in a column of the table, there is indication that the condition or set may be invariably a *sufficient* determiner or cause of the event. If the absence of a condition or set of conditions is always followed by the absence of a particular event in a column, there is indication that the condition or set may be invariably a *necessary* determiner or cause of the event. In sociology, without experimental controls, causality must be judged by any evidence available. In Table 1, a statement of intent to vote D may be thought of as a possible cause of voting D, etc., if this seems to be justified by social-psychological or other relevant causal theory. It is always important to know that the supposed cause, e.g. statement of intent, precedes the supposed effect, e.g. voting, in time.[3] Inspection of Table 1 shows at once that statement of intent is neither a sufficient nor a necessary cause of voting, because, for example, a statement of intent to vote D does not result in everyone voting D, which is required for a sufficient cause; and the absence of a statement of intent to vote D does not result in no one voting D, as is required for a necessary cause. But the value of χ^2 found above reveals enough relationship in Table 1 to suggest that statement of intent may be a cause under certain further conditions, e.g. if the respondent's statement accurately represents his intent, and if nothing happens to change his intent before the election.

It is evident that Table 1 cannot be modified to meet the criteria of a sufficient and necessary cause, i.e. of a causal system with maximum efficiency for prediction (insofar as can be told from the appearance of the

TABLE 4. TABLE 1 ADJUSTED TO MAXIMUM PREDICTIVE EFFICIENCY

Voted	Statement of Intent		
	D	R	O
D	150	0	0
R	0	200	0
O	0	0	50
T	150	200	50

[3] The case of predicting past events is not included here.

table), without changing the row totals, as in Table 4. The same is also true for the model showing the system with minimum value for prediction which appears in Table 5, although the fact may be less obvious.

TABLE 5. TABLE 1 ADJUSTED TO MINIMUM PREDICTIVE EFFICIENCY

Voted	Statement of Intent		
	D	R	O
D	50	67	17
R	50	66	17
O	50	67	16
T	150	200	50

This agrees with our warning above that apart from the χ^2 test the row totals should not play an active part in causal analysis. .If it seems to any reader that minimum predictive value should rather be represented by the expected frequencies of Table 2, it should be noticed that this table is derived from the row totals and has served its purpose as a basis for the χ^2 test. The logic of causation requires that each separate causal system or column be considered autonomously, as well as in relation to the other columns of the table. A causal system acting within a particular column of a table can be judged sufficient by the distribution of frequencies within that column only, and not by the distribution in some other column or columns, including that of the row totals, where other causal systems are also operating. Moreover, the capacity of a table for prediction is a function of the differences between the frequencies in the main diagonal (from upper left to lower right) and those in the other cells, being greatest here in Table 4 where the diagonal carries all the frequencies, and least in Table 5 where the frequencies in the diagonal are identical with those in other cells in the same column. Table 5 reduces to zero the power of every column and of the table to predict individual behavior. In Table 2 the columns add nothing to the value of the row totals for prediction, but any column taken separately or the row totals do have some power of individual prediction, which in extreme cases may reach sufficiency. It may be noticed, however, that in the derivation of the index K' below, it makes no difference whether Table 5 or

Table 2 is used. It should also be mentioned that there are other possible minimum models, although the writer considers Table 5 superior to any of them.

It is generally advisable that there should be only one column in any experience table which purports to contain a sufficient cause with reference to the same row category. This also means that, for example, in Table 1, columns D and O should not both have their maximum frequencies in row D. When this rule is violated, it may be well to drop all of the competing columns but the one most nearly approaching a sufficient causal pattern, or an entirely new causal system may be tried, depending on the circumstances.

If, as is proper in a causal table, it is desired to achieve a sufficient cause for each row, the table must of course be square. Furthermore, a table in which every column contains a completely sufficient cause will automatically contain necessary causes also, so far as that table goes.

It should be recognized, however, that because a presumed cause appears to be a necessary cause in some particular table, this does not mean that it is a necessary cause in general, with reference to a given row category. The position is taken here that research experience has amply demonstrated that many, if not all, events which sociologists are interested in predicting, e.g. divorce, delinquency, etc., may be the result of more than one system of causes. This is because one "divorce" or "delinquency" is not just the same as another.

3. On the basis of the above argument, one can readily derive a statistic which appears to be a more valid index of the predictive power of an experience table under stable causal conditions than any other measure of qualitative association now in use. This statistic also has the advantage that it is applicable to square tables of any size, which is not true of any familiar contingency coefficient.[4] The table or subtable of attri-

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[4] There are two little known measures, Tschuprow's T (ref. 16, p. 70) and Guttman's coefficient (ref. 6, pp. 261–263), which are not restricted by table size; but neither is geared to cause and effect requirements. T is a modified coefficient of contingency, C, and is based on χ^2; the other rests on simple maximum likelihood, does not specify a

butes that is not square has no meaning in causal analysis. The statistic referred to may be found as follows. The absolute sum of the differences between the cell frequencies of Tables 4 and 5 represents the departure of the minimum model from the maximum model, whereas the absolute sum of the differences between the cell frequencies of Tables 1 and 4 represents the actual departure of Table 1 from the same maximum. The ratio of the two absolute sums of differences will be an index of the relative departure of Table 1 from maximum efficiency. For Table 1 as a whole: K (Kappa) $= 1 - [(25+20+5) + (40+50+10) + (10+0+10)] / [(100+50+50) + (67+134+67) + (17+17+34)] = .68$, where K means percentage approach toward maximum predictive efficiency, provided there is other independent evidence of causality in the columns or table. It must also be assumed that every event in the table is independent of every other event, e.g. one voter should not be influenced by another in the way he votes. This is evidently a hard condition to meet in any sociological analysis.

Similarly, for the three columns separately, the indices of predictive efficiency or inferred sufficient causality are: $K_D = 1 - (25+20+5)/(100+50+50) = .75$; $K_R = 1 - (40+50+10)/(67+134+67) = .63$; $K_O = 1 - (10+0+10)/(17+17+34) = .71$, showing that a statement of intent to vote R was least efficient for prediction.

Easier formulas for computation are:
For any column, j:

$$K_j = (lf_d - n_j)/(l - 1)n_j \qquad (1)$$

For the entire table:

$$K = (l\Sigma f_d - N)/(l - 1)N \qquad (2)$$

where l = number of rows, m = number of columns, f_d = frequency in the main diagonal from upper left to lower right, N = total table frequency. For Table 1:

$$K_D = \frac{3(125) - 150}{(3-1)(150)} = .76; \ K =$$
$$\frac{3(315) - 400}{(3-1)(400)} = .68, \text{ as before.}$$

Formula (2) is affected by differences in the column populations of the experience table, e.g. Table 1. A formula which gives equal weight to each column is:

$$K' = (l\Sigma p_d - m)/(l - 1)m \qquad (3)$$

where p_d = percentage of each column total in the main diagonal. For Table 1,

$$K' = \left[3\left(\frac{125}{150} + \frac{150}{200} + \frac{40)}{.50}\right) - 3\right] /$$
$$(3-2)3 = .69.$$

For any column:

$$K'_j = (lp_d - 1)/(l - 1) \qquad (4)$$

In 2×2 tables, arranged as follows,

	Cause Present	Cause Absent	Total
Effect Present	$_1f_1$	$_1f_2$	$_1n$
Effect Absent	$_2f_1$	$_2f_2$	$_2n$
Total	n_1	n_2	N

where the general symbol is $_if_j$ and $_ip_j = _if_j/n_j$, for a column:

$$K_j = (_1f_j - _2f_j)/n_j = K'_j = _1p_j - _2p_j \qquad (5)$$

For the whole table:

$$K = 1 - 2(_2f_1 + _1f_2)/N \qquad (6)$$

$$K' = (_1f_1/n_1) - (_1f_2/n_2) = _1p_1 - _1p_2 \qquad (7)$$

Approximate standard errors of sampling squared of K and K', where i and j refer to different possible column combinations, and C_2^m is the number of combinations of m columns taken 2 at a time, are:

$$e_K^2 (\text{epsilom subK squared}) = \left(\frac{1}{N(l-1)}\right)^2$$

$$\left[\sum^m n_j p_d q_d + 2K \sum^{C_2^m} \sqrt{(n_i p_{di} q_{di})(n_j p_{dj} q_{dj})}\right] \qquad (8)[5]$$

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[5] More exactly, each radical should be multiplied by some measure of relationship K_{ij} or K'_{ij} between the two columns concerned, rather than using K or K' as a common multiplier. The latter is done for simplicity, and the error is usually slight.

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square table, allows maximum frequencies to fall off the diagonal, provides for no separate column analyses, has a zero value in a 2x2 table with a rectangular distribution in one column and a sufficient cause in the other, etc.

$$e^2_{K'} = \frac{1}{(l-1)_2}\left[\sum^m \frac{p_d q_d}{n_j} + 2K'\right.$$

$$\left.\sum^{C^m_2} \sqrt{\frac{(p_{di}q_{di})}{n_i}\frac{(p_{dj}q_{dj})}{n_j}}\right] \qquad (9)$$

Thus, for $K = .68$ in Table 1, $e^2_K =$

$$\left(\frac{3}{400(3-1)}\right)^2\left[\frac{(150)}{150}\frac{(125)}{150}\frac{(25)}{} + \right.$$
$$200\frac{(150)}{200}\frac{(50)}{200} + 50\frac{(40)}{50}\frac{(10)}{50} + 2(.68)$$

$$\left\{\sqrt{\frac{150}{150}\frac{(125)}{150}\frac{(25)}{}\,200\frac{(150)}{200}\frac{(50)}{200}} + \right.$$

$$\sqrt{\frac{150}{150}\frac{(125)}{150}\frac{(25)}{}\,50\frac{(40)}{50}\frac{(10)}{50}} +$$

$$\left.\sqrt{200\frac{(150)}{200}\frac{(50)}{200}\,50\frac{(40)}{50}\frac{(10)}{50}}\right\}\right] = .002045,$$

or $e_K = .045$, so that $K = .68 \pm 2(.045) = .59$ to $.77$ inclusive, giving roughly 95 percentage confidence limits.

Similarly, from formula (9), $e^2_{K'} =$

$$\frac{1}{(3-1)^2}\left[\frac{.83(.17)}{150} + \frac{.75(.25)}{200} + \frac{.80(.20)}{50}\right.$$

$$+ 2(.69)\left\{\sqrt{\frac{.83(.17)}{150}\frac{(.75)(.25)}{200}} + \right.$$

$$\sqrt{\frac{.83(.17)}{150}\frac{(.80)(.20)}{50}} +$$

$$\left.\left.\sqrt{\frac{.75(.25)}{200}\frac{(.80)(.20)}{50}}\right\}\right] = .0028, \text{ or}$$
$$e_{K'} = .05.$$

For any column:
$$e^2_{Kj} = \left(\frac{1}{l-1}\right)^2 p_d q_d/n_j \qquad (10)$$

For a 2x2 table:
$$e^2_{K'} = \sum^2 \frac{p_d q_d}{n_j} + 2K'\sqrt{\frac{p_{d_1}q_{d_1}p_{d_2}q_{d_2}}{n_1 \quad n_2}} \quad (11)$$

K' is a "purer" index of inferred cause than K, because K is affected by the column totals, which have nothing to do with causa-tion. If certain columns contain much larger totals than others, and this holds also for the population to be predicted, K is a better index of prediction than K'. But the less the column totals shift between experience table and population to be predicted, the less is the need for the column factor, and hence for K, which may then as well be discarded in favor of the simple row totals. Whether K or K' should be preferred in any given case is therefore a matter of purpose and judgment.

Since K is a weighted and K' an un-weighted mean of the indices K_j for the separate columns in a table, when the K_j's are very unlike in value, K or K' will obscure the true picture of causal relationships in a table, and prove less fruitful than a com-parative study of the K_j's alone. In every case, it is well to compute and examine the K_j's before turning to K or K'.

The investigator may persistently analyze the individuals who do not yield to the "treatment" in a column of an experience table, in order to find further causes to which they are tractable. It is usually pref-erable in sociological research to regard a column as representing a more or less com-plex system of causes rather than a single cause. A column system is then further broken down, until adequate causal control is achieved. For example, each statement of voting intent in a column of Table 1 may be subdivided into "Certain" and "Uncer-tain," meaning that some respondents said they were certain and others said they were uncertain about their intention to vote, giving the following table:

TABLE 6. MULTIPLE EXPERIENCE TABLE

| | Voting Intent Certain | | | | Voting Intent Uncertain | | | | |
Voted	D	R	O	T	D	R	O	T	T
D	106	20	4	130	15	25	3	45	175
R	3	122	0	125	15	25	4	45	170
O	1	8	36	45	10	0	3	10	55
T	110	150	40	300	40	50	10	100	400

The problem then is to judge whether Table 6 is probably more efficient for prediction than Table 1. Since all of the criteria upon which such a judgment should be based have not yet been considered, (items 4, 5, and 6 of the outline), we can now compare the two tables only with respect to their indices of potential predictive power. For Table 6, using formula (2), $K = [3(106+122+36+15+25+3) - 400]/(3-1)400 = .65$. Thus K is less for Table 6 than for Table 1 (.68), and, although Table 6 carries the additional factor of "Certainty," "Uncertainty," it is no improvement over the simpler Table 1 for forecasting purposes, insofar as can be judged from the index K alone.

However, it may be asked how efficient the "Certain" half of Table 6 is for prediction. For that half, $K = .82$, which is better than $K = .68$ for the whole of Table 1. Since it appears that the "Certain" half of Table 6 is a more accurate instrument of prediction as far as it goes than the whole table, what can be done to take advantage of it? One cannot refuse to predict for the "Uncertain" half of the table, so there will be no improvement unless the efficiency of that half can also be increased. The only way of doing this is to try introducing a third inferred causal factor, e.g. how the respondents voted in a preceding election, i.e. voting habit. This factor will now replace statement of intent to vote, which produced unsatisfactory results in the "Uncertain" half of Table 6. Suppose Table 7 is obtained. For this table, $K = .79$, which is almost as

TABLE 7. VOTE AT PRECEDING ELECTION IMPOSED ON "UNCERTAIN" HALF OF TABLE 6[6]

Voted Now	Voted at Preceding Election			
	D	R	O	T
D	40	5	0	45
R	4	39	2	45
O	2	1	7	10
T	46	45	9	100

[6] A large number of frequencies in each cell is required before an experience table can be considered satisfactory in practice, where there are no experimental controls. Small frequencies are used in this paper for convenience only.

high as for the "Certain" half of Table 6. The "Certain" half may now be used with Table 7, with an approximate combined K of .82.

The most reasonable interpretation of the foregoing analysis of fictitious data seems to be that statement of intent approaches rather closely to an inferred causal system of maximum predictive efficiency, if the intent is strong ("certain"). But if the intent is weak ("uncertain"), individual voting behavior is more accurately indicated by habit of voting, as shown by vote at a preceding election. This appears consistent with psychological theory, and would suggest that knowledge of voting behavior at a preceding election similar to the one to be predicted, statement of intent, and attitude of certainty or uncertainty, obtained as close to the date of voting as possible, are all desirable. There should, however, be further efforts to increase the predictive power of the experience table.

4 and 5. We come now to the fourth and fifth criteria of prediction, namely, the stability of the inferred causal system in passing from the experience table to the event to be predicted, and the possibilities of avoiding or dealing with instability. If the causal conditions within one or more columns change in ways that affect the occurrence of the events to be predicted, the proportions in the columns of the experience table will no longer apply, and it is on them that the accuracy of the forecast depends, whether the interest is in individual or percentage behavior.

Deliberate efforts can sometimes be made to reproduce a sociological situation, at least approximately, as with controlled experiments in education, in order that about the same results as those previously observed in that kind of situation will be obtained again. When such replication is inappropriate or impossible, a new situation may be judged to be the same as some earlier one by noting whether the same causal conditions that appeared in the earlier situation, and only they, seem to be operative in the new situation. The more exactly these conditions are defined, and the more systematically they are looked for in the new situation, the more accurate a prediction about the new situation based on the old is likely to be. When it is

clear that an important situation, which will often recur, is causally different from any other for which an experience table exists, a separate experience table should obviously be prepared for it also.

Perhaps the best technical device that sociologists can use to combat causal instability is to subdivide the causal system within each column of an experience table, so that those parts or elements of it which are most likely to be dropped or added in a new situation are separated out, and each occupies a column to itself. If this can be successfully done, and a sample of the population whose behavior is to be predicted is taken just before the behavior occurs, as in forecasting elections, then the new situation will differ from the experience table only in the ratios of the cell totals, which the table is designed to handle.

In general, any attempt to predict from a sociological experience table at the present level of knowledge is to some degree a gamble. It is nevertheless possible for a sociologist to protect himself and his readers by laying down the ordinary qualification that "if the causal conditions are as defined, then, according to experience, the results will probably be so and so."

6. After everything else has been done, the final test of an experience table is, of course, how well it predicts in fresh situations. This can be told only by comparing the prediction from the *sample* with what actually happened to the *sample*. If the attempt is made to predict individual behavior, the error is measured by the proportion of individuals who were predicted wrongly. If the purpose is to predict percentage performance, say the percentage of votes given to each candidate in an election, the error is the absolute sum of the differences between the votes predicted for the sample and the corresponding votes actually registered for the sample in each column of the experience table, expressed as a percentage of the total sample vote. For example, if the votes predicted were those shown in Table 3 above, and the actual votes were 135 for D, 136 for R, and 29 for O, the mean error in percentage prediction would be $[(135-130)+(140-136)+(30-29)]/300=.03$. These may be regarded as errors of incomplete causal control. Further errors due to sam-

pling from a population are for scientific purposes best considered separately. It is, of course, very essential for anyone who engages in prediction to use the best techniques of sampling available. Sampling is a well established science which is available to anyone, however, and there is no point in including more discussion of it here.

Every time an experience table is used, an opportunity is afforded not only to test its accuracy, but also to improve it in the light of the weaknesses shown. It is by frequent revisions in use that an experience table is most likely to become an efficient instrument of prediction in sociology.

This treatment of inferred causation in predicting attributes has been illustrated by reference to the currently familiar and relatively simple case of forecasting elections. The same principles, however, apply to the prediction of any other unquantified social behavior.[7] Their great importance is due to the fact that the ultimate test of sociology as a science is the accuracy of its predictions beyond what can be accomplished by common-sense methods. In time enough progress may be made in scaling sociological data so that these principles may find expression in more exact quantitative techniques than are possible for attributes.

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[7] The desirability of sampling the population to be predicted just before the occurrence of the event or events at issue, in the case of any type of behavior, is obvious, if it can be managed.

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A SOCIO-PSYCHIATRIC APPROACH TO PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION*

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THERE are many approaches to personality. They have varied from the elementaristic to the holistic, from the peripheralistic to the centralistic, or from the psychoanalytic, personalistic to the topological.[1] This paper, however, is an outgrowth not so much from a logical need to reconcile those opposing theories of personality as from a practical necessity to account for the behavioral phenomena that the writer has encountered from day to day as a lay-analyst and a sociologist for a number of years and in different cultural settings.[2] It is hoped, though, that what is presented in the following may be of some use to those better qualified to discuss strictly theoretical problems.

The approaches employed and found most useful in the writer's work, to use the words of Edward Sapir, may be simply called the sociological and the psychiatric.[3] The sociological approach looks upon the human individual not only as a biological organism but always as a member of society and a carrier of culture and his behavior at any given point of time as a function of the interaction between him and the on-going socio-cultural situation as he defines it.[4] The psychiatric approach, on the other hand, tends to emphasize the unique and the relatively enduring systems of reactivity on the part of the individual, especially those integrative and adjustive processes that are characterized by low degrees of personal awareness. A combination of these views, or what is here called the socio-psychiatric approach, therefore, will incline one to think of man not only as a psychophysical organization, but one that "embodies countless cultural patterns in a unique configuration:[5] one that is characterized by "relatively enduring life processes,"[6] accompanied by dif-

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[1] Angyal, A., *Foundations of A Science of Personality*, 1941; Maslow, A. H., "Dynamics of Personality Organization", *Psychological Review*, 50 (1943): 514–539; Rosenzweig, S., "Converging Approaches to Personality," *Psychological Review*, 51 (1944): 248–275.

[2] The writer started his work as a lay analyst and sociologist at the Peiping Union Medical College in China in 1935 and worked among American Negroes at Fisk University from 1939 to 1942. Since 1943 he has been associated with the Department of Psychiatry, and since 1947 also with the Department of Psychology, Duke University.

[3] Sapir, E., "Personality", *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 12 (1934); 85–88.

[4] Thomas, W. I., *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1927), pp. 1847–1849.

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ferent degrees of awareness and functioning almost always in a socio-cultural context, actual or imaginary; and one that responds to any given situation always in terms of its meaning to itself. This approach is increasingly recognized by practically all serious students of personality, although it has been known by different names in different disciplines.[7]

SOME EMPIRICAL CLINICAL OBSERVATIONS

A clinician using the socio-psychiatric approach and working intensively with patients for a long period of time can hardly escape the following empirical observations: (1) Each patient seeking treatment seems to be perennially preoccupied with what kind of person he is, that is, the self as an object. It also seems that each patient has a preferred self-picture that he has had difficulty in realizing, and because of this he is now beset by anxiety, guilt or aggression, or by half-hearted or unsuccessful attempts to live up to such a self-picture that have resulted in psychiatric symptoms.[8] (2) What has prevented the patient from realizing his preferred self-picture seems to consist of impulses that are accompanied by different degrees of personal awareness; some of these impulses are readily accessible to consciousness while others are not accessible. These conflicting impulses seem to function at the same time in situations emotionally significant to the individual. (3) Not only those life processes of which the individual is fully aware but also those characterized by low degrees of awareness tend to cluster. Such clusters have been variably represented as complexes, traits, trends, themas, or just attitudes.[9] In fact, such clusters of behavior patterns seem to be organized around uni-

tary, though often conflicting, roles or self-concepts that the individual has attempted to play or realize in the socio-cultural situations confronting him. (4) All roles or self-concepts seem to have definite socio-cultural referent situations, or consist of what Sullivan called the "me-you patterns."[10] This is as true of the roles or self-concepts acquired in an individual's primary group environment as it is of those acquired later through membership in the secondary groups. (5) The conflicts of neurotic patients seem to be fundamentally conflicts of roles or self-concepts, having their origins in the conflicting socio-cultural environments with which the individual has been identified in the course of his development. (6) In spite of these conflicts, however, the human individual, it seems, never ceases to strive for a consistent self-picture, one that he considers as appropriate to his present-day socio-cultural environment. In fact, the so-called neurotic symptoms can be shown, in many instances, to be just such conscious or unconscious attempts at self-consistency.[11] (7) A change in behavior is often found to follow a change in self-concept;[12] in fact, it seldom occurs otherwise. Very frequently when a patient's self-esteem increases, his previous complaints imperceptibly lose their importance. And (8) changes in self-concepts most frequently result from changes in self-other relations, the "other" being either the therapist in the therapeutic situation or the patient's associates in real life situations. This fact has been emphasized in different ways by practically all schools of psychotherapy.[13]

On the basis of such observable facts as mentioned above, certain hypotheses regarding personality organization have appeared

[7] This approach is called the interpersonal theory by Harry S. Sullivan in *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry*, the field theory by Gardner Murphy in *Personality: A Bio-Social Interpretation*, and the personal frame of reference by Snygg and Combs in *Individual Behavior*.

[8] Cf. Murphy, *Personality*, pp. 561.

[9] These clusters of impulses have been called complexes by Freud *(General Introduction to Psychoanalysis)*, traits by Allport *(Personality: A Psychological Interpretation)*, thema by Murray *(Explorations in Personality)*, trends by Horney *(The Neurotic Personality of Our Time)* and attitudes by many sociologists and psychologists.

[10] Sullivan, H. S. "Psychiatry: An introduction to the Study of Interpersonal Relations", *A Study of Interpersonal Relations* edited by P. Mullahy. (1949), pp. 98–121.

[11] Cf. Lecky, P., *Self Consistency: A Theory of Personality*, 1945.

[12] Rogers, C. R., "The Significance of the Self Regarding Attitudes and Perceptions," *Feelings and Emotions*, edited by M. L. Reymert (1950), pp. 374–382.

[13] Alexander, F., French, T. M., *et al.*, *Psychoanalytic Therapy*, 1946; Fromm-Reichmann, F., *The Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy*, 1950; Rogers, C. R. *Client-Centered Therapy*, 1951.

to the writer as worthy of consideration. They will be presented first in a summary fashion. Then a discussion will follow.

SOME HYPOTHESES REGARDING PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION

1. Human personality, on its higher levels of integration, may be thought of as an organization of selves or self-concepts.[14]

2. Each of the selves in a personality organization has a definite socio-cultural referent situation, or has resulted from the interaction between the individual and a specific socio-cultural environment.

3. The organization of these selves appears to be hierarchical. The self that is acquired in the first or family group environment seems to be the most basic, while others acquired later in the secondary group environments vary in importance to the individual's self-picture of the moment, depending on the situation he is confronted by.[15]

4. The self that is acquired in the primary group environment may be called the primary self, while the selves acquired in the secondary group environments are the secondary selves. The primary self tends to create life goals and set in motion certain basic self-defending and self-enhancing mechanisms or patterns that may persist in some form throughout the individual's life and condition his adaptation to later socio-cultural situations.

5. The primary self is either favorable or unfavorable, acceptable or unacceptable, to the person. The former tends to facilitate personality growth and adaptation to changing situations, while the latter tends to do the opposite.[16] Both kinds of processes may operate with or without the individual's awareness.

6. The relationship between the primary self and the secondary selves seems to be a very intimate one. The primary self almost invariably serves as a selector in the individual's later dealings with the secondary group situations and tends to incorporate or utilize the latter for the solution of its unresolved problems, with or without awareness on the part of the individual. On the other hand, the secondary self at any given point of time, especially if it is very much consciously preferred, tends to assert an inhibiting or integrative influence over the selves acquired earlier in the individual's development.

7. The degree of integration of the primary self and the secondary selves, or the degree of organization in a personality, seems to depend, to a very large extent, on the degree of continuity or congruity between an individual's primary or earlier socio-cultural environments and his secondary or later socio-cultural environments.[17]

8. There seems to be a natural tendency on the part of the human organism toward consistency or integration or to act as a whole. This tendency often necessitates the exclusion or dissociation of those impulses and behavior patterns from personal awareness that are not consistent with the individual's preferred self-picture in a given socio-cultural situation, thus resulting, in certain cases, in the kind of anxiety and defense mechanisms that eventually lead to neurotic symptoms.[18]

9. The behavior of a human individual in any given socio-cultural situation and at any given point of time may be thought of as a function of the interaction between his personality organization as conceptualized above and the situation as it appears to him.[19]

10. The organism is at all times the core of a personality organization. An individual's efforts to integrate his various self-concepts together with their respective behavior patterns may be thought of as manifestations of the organisms' basic homeostatic processes at the self-other and self-culture levels. In other words, the human individual seems to act at all times as a bio-social whole.[20]

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[14] Cf. Allport, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–141.

[15] Cf. Angyal, *op. cit.*, on the vertical dimension of personality organization, pp. 264ff.

[16] Cf. Allen, F., *Psychotherapy with Children* (1942), pp. 24–29.

[17] Cf. Benedict, R., "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, edited by C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray (1948), pp. 414ff.

[18] May, R., *The Meaning of Anxiety* (1950), pp. 343ff.

[19] Cf. Lewin, K., *Field Theory in Social Sciences*, edited by S. D. Cartwright (1951).

[20] Cf. Goldstein, K., *The Organism* (1939), pp. 291–340 and Frank, L. K., *Nature and Human Nature* (1951).

DISCUSSION

The idea that the behavior of a human individual is usually organized around his conception of himself and that a human personality consists of a hierarchy of self-concepts, of course, is not new.[21] Ever since the fad of radical behaviorism has subsided, the concept of self has been utilized by an increasing number of academic psychologists as well as clinicians.[22] While some of them, like Allport, tend to stress personality as an intrapsychic organization, others, like Murphy, place great emphasis on the relationship between the selves and the environment. With respect to the latter point of view, of course, the contributions of the sociologists have been the most outstanding and the most consistent, though little recognized in current psychological and psychiatric literature. According to Sorokin, for example, "the structure of the individual's egos may be considered as a microcosm corresponding to the social macrocosm of the groups to which the individual belongs." His thesis, very similar to the writer's, is that "the individual has not one empirical soul, or self, or ego, but several: first, biological; and second, social egos. The individual has as many different social egos as there are different social groups and strata with which he is connected."[23]

To most of these writers, however, the concept of self or ego seems to refer primarily to the conscious system of attitudes and values with which an individual identifies in a given situation. What has been known in psychoanalytic literature as the Id or the Unconscious, that is, impulses and behavior patterns characterized by low degrees of awareness has not been adequately accounted for. One may ask here: Are those impulses and behavior patterns that the clinicians deal with really as primitive and as instinctive as the word Id would signify and do they come directly into conflict with the individual's self-picture of the moment or with Freud's Superego formed in the early genital period of his psychosexual development; or are they rather what Dewey called "habits" organized around roles or self-concepts that the individual has acquired early in life?[24] These questions are not adequately answered by such designations as "neurotic trends" (Horney), or "dissociated tendencies" (Sullivan), or autonomous motives (Allport), or plain unacceptable impulses. If the concept of self or ego is used to refer to the organization of those experiences that an individual had in his primary group environment but that now are repressed or dissociated, we are not told what becomes of those selves acquired early in an individual's life and how they are related to his self-concept of the moment and incorporated into his personality as a whole. The answer to these questions, it seems to the writer, may lie in the concept of primary self as it is used in the foregoing propositions regarding personality organization.

Some of the clinical observations in support of the concept of the primary self have already been mentioned. Further evidences justifying the use of the concept may be found in the so-called transference phenomenon and in the self perceptions often dramatized in the dreams. The former, as all users of intensive psychotherapy can testify, is essentially a relationship in which a patient, knowingly or unknowingly, identifies the treatment situation with his primary group environment and the therapist with the most significant persons in that environment. In other words, in his relations with the therapist at the present time the patient is actually playing a role, or acting according to a self-concept, that he has acquired in his primary group environment, although at the same time he may feel that he ought to act differently or more according to a self-concept appropriate to the real situation. In fact, learning to differentiate between the two constitutes the very essence of the therapeutic process. Such distorted definitions of present-day situations are often dramatized with the most uncanny accuracy in the patient's dreams and they usually take the form of perceiving an on-going interpersonal situation in terms of self-other relations in his primary group environment.[25]

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[21] James, W., *Psychology* (1948), pp. 176–216.

[22] Among those whose writings have been cited are Allport, Murphy, Rogers, Snygg, Combs, French, Horney and Sullivan.

[23] Sorokin, P. A., *Society, Culture and Personality* (1947), pp. 345.

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[24] Dewey, J., *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922), pp. 89.

[25] Freud, S., *The Interpretation of Dreams;* Lowy, S., *Psychological and Biological Foundations of Dream Interpretation,* 1946.

A pertinent question may be asked here. Since there are more than one person in the primary group and since the concept of self implies a self-other relationship, can we say then that there are as many primary selves in an individual's personality as there are persons in his primary group? Logically, the answer seems to be in the affirmative. But empirically and clinically, what we do very often find is that there are always certain key persons in an individual's primary group and certain key experiences that are especially related to the kind of primary self he has acquired. In fact, we may follow Mead and say that what we refer to here is a generalized self that has resulted from the child's taking the role of the primary group "community" as a whole.[26] It is a self-picture that reflects the child's role in the total context of his first socio-cultural environment.[27]

Another related question may be asked. Does this concept of the primary self that has been derived principally from clinical observations apply to the normals, that is individuals who do not appear to have psychiatric symptoms and who do not seek treatment? That it does is strongly suggested by such intensive studies as that of a successful business man, named Orvil, by William Healy[28] and those of over 30 graduate students in psychiatry, clinical psychology, and medicine, made by the writer strictly for purposes of training.[29] In fact, a certain amount of such distorted definitions of present-day situations in terms of primary group relations seems to be the rule instead of an exception with the normals, and the exponents of the interpersonal theory have insisted that this phenomenon they call para-taxia deserves more of the attention of the social scientists than it has been given.[30]

There are other interesting theoretical problems connected with the concept of primary self that we cannot go into here for lack of time. Perhaps the process of self formation and some of its practical implications may be worth a special mention. In the first stage of the development of the primary self, the interaction between the individual and the representatives of his primary group environment probably takes the form of the interplay of what Plant called "psychomotor tensions"[31] and the process involved is probably what Sullivan called "empathy."[32] As the child's language ability develops, the process may be more properly called "symbolic interaction,"[33] or in Mead's own terms, "the conversation of significant gestures."[34] In terms of the sequence of events that can be readily reconstructed in the life history of any patient, the steps involved in the formation of the primary self seem to be as follows: first, the significant persons in his primary group environment have felt, thought and acted toward him in a certain way; then he as a child has learned to feel, think and act toward himself in a similar way; and finally, since no important corrective experiences have intervened, he has acquired the type of primary self that we spend a lot of time in discovering and helping to modify in the clinic.[35]

If problems of behavior disorders can be best understood in terms of man's continuous and persistent efforts to be human since infancy, that is to achieve a self-picture acceptable to himself as well as to other humans, therapeutic implications of the approach are obvious. Instead of centering one's attention on the vicissitudes of an instinct from infancy on or any other causal factor required by the various schools of psychopathology, the therapist's principal

[26] Mead, G., *Mind, Self and Society* (1934), pp. 142, 167. It is to be noted that Mead makes a distinction between the self in its cognitive aspects and the self in its affective aspects (pp. 173). This paper admittedly emphasizes the latter.

[27] For a clinical application of this approach, see B. Dai, "Divided Loyalty in War: A Study of Cooperation with the Enemy," *Psychiatry* 7 (1944), pp. 327–340.

[28] Healy, W., *Personality in Formation and Action* (1938), pp. 53–69.

[29] Each of these trainees was given a 3-month intensive personality study, consisting of 36 didactic interviews, as a part of a program of training in psychotherapy conducted by the writer in the Departments of Psychiatry and Psychology, Duke University.

[30] Beaglehole, E., "Interpersonal Theory and Social Psychology," *A Study of Interpersonal Relations,* edited by P. Mullahy (1949), pp. 50–79.

[31] Plant, J., *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (1937), pp. 21.

[32] Sullivan, H. S., *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry* (1946), p. 8.

[33] Coutu, W. *Emergent Human Nature* (1949), pp. 281–300.

[34] Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–139, 167, 191, 364–370.

[35] Cf. Rogers, *Client-Centered Therapy,* pp. 481 ff.

job will be to find out what type of a primary self the individual has acquired in the course of his relations with his primary group environment and how this primary self together with the behavior patterns it has produced are now interfering with the individual's attempt at realizing the self-picture he considers as more appropriate to his present-day socio-cultural environment. The types of primary self one may find differ with the individual and with his specific primary personal and cultural environment, and may, in fact, require different therapeutic procedures. Problems related to the handling of biologic impulses will not be ignored, but they will be approached always in the context of the individual's personality organization as a whole and especially in that of his efforts to be human, that is to achieve the kind of self-picture that he can be proud of in relation with other humans. From this point of view, therapeutic relations will be no mere occasions for the recapitulation of the various stages of libidinal development, but primarily experiences through which an inadequate primary self-concept is modified or a new self-picture is developed. Nor does the therapeutic process seem to be simply a matter of internal perceptual reorganization on the part of the individual as Rogers described it,[36] for we can be reasonably sure that no such perceptual reorganization can take place in a social vacuum. In fact, it appears to be literally a process in which a new self appears through a new kind of symbolic interaction, which the individual now experiences for the first time in his life. The steps involved seem to be the same through which the primary self first emerges. First, the therapist feels about and responds to him and his problems in a certain way; then, the patient learns to do the same to himself and his problems; and finally, if the therapist succeeds in performing his professional role and the patient's assets permit, a new and more acceptable self may emerge. A remarkable study of the steps involved in the recovery of a schizophrenic patient made by a Swiss lay-analyst, Mrs. Sechehaye, seems to indicate that the therapeutic process described here is true not only of cases with behavior disorders of the neurotic variety, with which the writer has a fair amount of familiarity, but of the more severe cases as well.[37]

The socio-psychiatric approach to personality organization as outlined here may also have some rather far-reaching implications for mental hygiene. According to this view, the most important job in bringing up children is not so much to see that isolated biologic needs are gratified or that specific habits are established as that, through all these need-gratifications and habit-formations, an adequate and favorable primary self-picture is developed. This may mean that we will have to learn to treat the infant as a human being with self-concepts in the process of becoming and not merely as a bundle of reflexes to be severally conditioned or as a concentration of libidinal energy to be zonally discharged. If our description of the process of self-formation is correct, it follows that in order to give the child the proper role to take and thereby to enable him to develop the proper kind of self-concept and eventually become a self-respecting and self-trusting human being among other humans, it may not be quite sufficient for parents just to learn to master the methods of administering rewards and punishments, as some authors seem to think,[38] or even to indoctrinate the child in the best religious teachings of the world.[39] Child rearing methods and ethical principles by themselves may be of little avail unless parents themselves and those having direct dealings with the child have achieved self-concepts of such a kind that they will not, wittingly or unwittingly, utilize their relations with the child mainly for the gratification of their own private needs. Only in this manner can they genuinely and consistently love and respect the child as an individual, and only in this manner can the child, in turn, learn to love and respect himself as a human being and eventually acquire the kind of adequate and growth-facilitating primary self that seems to be the only true foundation of mental health.[40]

[36] Rogers, C. R., "Personality Organization," *Psychological Theory*, edited by M. H. Marx (1951), pp. 517–521.

[37] Sechehaye, M. A., *Symbolic Realization* (1951), pp. 136–137.

[38] Hohman, L. B., *As the Twig Is Bent*, 1940.

[39] Moore, D. T. V., *Personal Mental Hygiene*, 1944.

[40] Dai, B., "Freedom, Discipline and Personal Security," *Progressive Education*, January, 1949.

INTERACTION BETWEEN ATTITUDE AND THE DEFINITION OF THE SITUATION IN THE EXPRESSION OF OPINION

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PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

THE main purpose of the study is to explore the relationships between a person's *private opinion* and his *definition of the situation* and how they effect his expression of *public opinion* in a social situation.

The pursuit of this objective is divided into two phases. The first is an experimental study in which the only aspect of the individual's definition of the situation under consideration is his *estimate of the group opinion*. This part of the study describes the extent to which each individual alters his private opinion to conform to his estimation of the group opinion when asked to express his opinion in that group. The second phase of the study uses case materials to gain insight into the reasons for the behavior of the extreme conformists and non-conformists. In this material other aspects of each person's definition of the situation are considered in addition to his estimate of the group opinion.

In order to observe the dynamic interplay between each person's *private opinion* and his *definition of the situation* which interact to develop his expression of *public opinion,* it is necessary to study a group: (1) in which there is a wide range of private opinions, (2) where the members of the group are so intimately acquainted as to have a clear definition of the situation with respect to the particular subject upon which they are asked to express themselves, and (3) where there is variation in the *definition of the situation* from person to person resulting from differences in each person's background, the nature of his connection with the group, and his role and status in the group.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUP STUDIED

The study began by participant observation of a group of 36 members of a coop-erative living project. Because of turnover in membership and individuals taking vacations during some phase of the collection of data, complete data were collected on only 24 of the members.

About half of the members were students and the rest worked in a variety of professions, semi-professions, and vocations ranging from college instructor to waitress. All but one person had some college education. The ages ranged from 21 to 35 years. Half were males and half were females. These people lived in a large, single-family residence which had four floors and seven bathrooms.

The household tasks were shared and all the members ate the evening meal in the common dining room. According to another study by the writer, some of the more important forces bringing the people into the co-op were: (1) a common interest in the cooperative movement, (2) economical housing, (3) a desire for primary association with other minority groups, (4) a desire to meet members of the opposite sex, and (5) a desire to be in an atmosphere where members of minority groups can relax and be treated as equals.

Although the group was composed of a wide variety of cultural backgrounds, there was one common denominator; namely, all the members belonged to a minority group. The group included seven Negroes, nine Jews of whom only two attended religious services (Reformed), five members of Catholic background of whom only two considered themselves in good standing with the church, and three pacifists. Of the three married couples living in the house, two were inter-racial marriages.

The political affiliation and beliefs in the group can best be characterized by the following categories: Democrats, 15; ex-Progressives, 14; Socialists, 4; Communist, 1; Republican, 1. The seven Negroes were all

Democrats and were noticeably more conservative than the Caucasians. This is mainly because the Negroes were trying to achieve a higher status than their parents. The Caucasians, on the other hand, tended to be rebellious against the "bourgeois" standards of their parents.

In the opinion of the writer this group is heterogeneous enough to offer wide variations in attitude toward Russia and, at the same time, the members are sufficiently identified with the group to be influenced by a rather clear conception of the norms of the group.

THE EXPERIMENTAL SITUATION

Opinion on Russia was chosen for this study because it is a subject with emotional content, a subject toward which this group holds a wide range of feelings, and a subject upon which the sanctioned range of expression of public opinion is narrowing.

The writer was a regular member of the co-op group for a period of months and was able to collect data from observation and non-directive interviewing before the experimental phase of the study was begun.

Three types of data relating to the experimental study were collected. First, each individual recorded his *private opinion* on Russia on a Likert-type attitude scale in a situation where the respondent was assured complete anonymity. Second, in a manner described in detail later, he was asked to express his opinion on each of these items in the presence of his fellow co-op members. These responses are referred to as his *public opinion*. Third, by a method also described later, he was asked to make an estimate of the opinion of the group on each of these same items. These responses are hereafter referred to as his *estimate of group opinion* which is the only aspect of his *definition of the situation* which is obtained in the experimental situation. Other aspects of his definition are dealt with later in the case study material. Thus we have, from each individual, three types of responses to each of twelve items dealing with Russia. An item-for-item comparison of the three responses can thus be made for each individual, since the "anonymous" questionnaires were secretly identifiable.

For the experiment the twenty-four members were divided into two sub-groups matched according to race, occupational status, sex, and rank order of the total score on their *private opinion*. The two groups were interviewed simultaneously in different rooms. Two interviewers worked with each group. In one group both interviewers were co-op members. In the other group one was a co-op member and the other was an "outsider" representing a nationally known opinion research organization. This procedure was used in an effort to detect any effect the interviewer himself might have on the responses in the group situation. By a comparison of the responses received by each interviewer and by subsequent interviews with the respondents "after the study was completed," indicated that the respondents in general felt that all the interviewers were objective, neutral and uncritical in comparison with the others who were listening to their responses.

The experiment had been proposed to the group as a scientific study of a new public opinion polling technique. At a regular house meeting the group voted unanimously to cooperate with the writer in this study.

The following interviewing technique was used. The group was told that the interviewers would make a statement regarding Russia, and the respondent was to say to what extent he agreed or disagreed with the statement, using the five possible replies indicated on a card which was going to be handed to him. The group was also told that the members should listen to the replies of the others so that they could be prepared to estimate the group opinion.

At this point in the design of the study, an important question of methodology presented itself—When and how can each individual's most valid estimate of the group opinion be obtained? A pre-test with another group seemed to indicate that an individual's awareness of the discrepancy between his private opinion and his conception of the opinions of a given group of people was not as acute at any time *before* actually making a statement on a controversial subject as it became when the physical act of speaking occurred. Some individuals reported a growing awareness *during* the utterance of their statements which caused them to alter the wording in order to soften the

impact on the group. Other individuals testified that, although they would change the wording of a statement which they had strongly endorsed before, they did not sense an acute emotional reaction until *after* the statement was finished.

Since it was impossible to interrupt the person during his statement in this experiment, it was decided that the respondent should give his estimate of the group opinion on each item immediately *after* his statement on *each item* by indicating on a check-chart his estimate of the group opinion. It was suggested in the directions to each respondent that this could be done most accurately by comparing the direction and degree of the feeling of the group in relation to his own feeling on that particular item and then quickly checking his first impression.

There were many indications of the effect of the group pressure on the individual other than his choice of response. After the directions were given to the group, there were definite symptoms of tension and awareness of the group pressure. It is the writer's belief that each one felt that it was a bit awkward to appear to be too interested in the opinions of the group and so made an effort to be busy and so to ease his own tension as well as that of the person being interviewed. This conviction is based on such observations as the following:

Case 2, a person who had the most anti-Russian score on both the anonymous response and the group response, came into the group, whispered to her husband, and left. He also left to set the table for dinner. After a while the interviewer went after him and told him it would take only a minute. He consented reluctantly because, he explained, he was busy. After his own interview, however, he had time to remain in the group until the last interview was completed.

Case 8 sat on one end of a couch with a Penguin Book in his hand, opened to page 38. Twenty-two minutes later he was on the same page.

Five of the respondents who usually speak in normal voices replied almost inaudibly to the interviewer, whose ear was approximately three feet from the respondent. In these cases the interviewer would pretend not to have heard, and in a clear, matter-of-fact voice audible to the rest of the group ask, "You said agree? Was that

strongly or moderately? Strongly? Thank you."

In two cases where the person felt that the group strongly disagreed with his statement, the interviewer and the respondent had the following exchange.

Respondent: (in an almost inaudible voice) Agree strongly.
Interviewer: Did you say agree or disagree?
Respondent: Agree.
Interviewer: Was that strongly or moderately?
Respondent: Moderately
Interviewer: Moderately?   Thank you.

It appears that each thought better of his first response and changed from strongly to moderately, which was nearer to his conception of the group norms. The general atmosphere of the group had a lack of spontaneity and a stiff sort of nonchalance.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

There are some general relationships between the three scores, which are consistent for the group. Analysis of the relationship between *private opinion* and *estimate of group opinion* indicates a marked tendency for the individual to estimate correctly the *direction* of the median opinion of the group (as indicated by the aggregate private opinion) in relation to his own private opinion.[1]

From Table 1 we see that those whose opinions were more pro-Russian on the *private opinion* scale tended correctly to estimate the group opinion as being more anti-Russian that their own.[2] It can be said that 20 of the 24 people were correct in their estimate in regard to the general direction of the group opinion.

There is another general relationship found between the individual's *private opinion* and his *estimate of the group opinion*. Those who are pro-Russian on the private opinion scale tend to estimate the opinion of the group as being more pro-Russian than it actually is, and *vice versa*, as shown in Table 2. Thus, although the estimate of the direction of the group mean from the individual's private opinion is correct, the conception of the absolute position of the

[1] Anonymous opinion is divided into pro and anti-Russian by the median.

[2] Group opinion was obtained from the median score on the aggregate of private opinions.

group appears to be influenced by the individual's own feeling as well as the actual group opinion.

It can be similarly demonstrated that there is a positive relationship between the anonymous opinion and the opinion expressed in the group, as may be seen from Table 3.

are twelve items with five-point responses, the possible range of the total scores is from 12 to 60, with 60 representing the extreme pro-Russian score.

In 13 cases the expression of *public opinion*, as indicated by *total scores* in the group situation, more closely approximated the person's conception of the group norms than

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY THEIR PRIVATE OPINION ON RUSSIA AND THE DIRECTION OF THEIR ESTIMATE OF THE GROUP OPINION IN RELATION TO THEIR OWN PRIVATE OPINION

Individual's Private Opinion	Direction of Estimate of Group Opinion		
	More Pro-Russian	More Anti-Russian	Total
Pro-Russian	2	10	12
Anti-Russian	10	2	12
Total	12	12	24

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY THEIR PRIVATE OPINION ON RUSSIA AND THEIR ACCURACY IN ESTIMATING MEAN OPINION OF THE GROUP

Individual's Private Opinion	Accuracy of Estimate of Group Opinion		
	Too Pro-Russian	Too Anti-Russian	Total
Pro-Russian	10	2	12
Anti-Russian	2	10	12
Total	12	12	24

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY THEIR PRIVATE OPINION ON RUSSIA AND THEIR PUBLIC OPINION ON RUSSIA

Private Opinion	Public Opinion		
	Pro-Russian	Anti-Russian	Total
Pro-Russian	11	1	12
Anti-Russian	1	11	12
Total	12	12	24

Tables 1, 2, and 3 show that in general each person can correctly estimate whether the group is either more or less pro-Russian than himself, but he usually does not realize that the amount of this difference is as great as it is. Also, in general, there are no individuals who shift from the "pro" category on their *private* opinion to the "anti" category on their *public* opinion or *vice versa*.

This rather crude analysis does not, however, demonstrate the shifts of lesser magnitude. In order to reveal these smaller changes we must compare each person's total score for the three types of responses. Since there

did his *private opinion*. In eight cases the expression in the group is further from their conception of group norms than is their expression in the anonymous situation. In three cases there was no change in the total score from the anonymous to the group situation.

This might suggest that in general the person's expression of opinion regarding Russia is influenced by his conception of how others regard Russia. This appears to be a plausible enough result, but the eight cases whose attitudes were counter to their conceptions of the group, and the three who indicated no influence by the group, must be

studied in comparison with the 13 cases who conformed to the group.

It is necessary at this time to point out that the comparison of these three total scores for each person was used only for a rough group comparison, and that there are certain meaningful differences that are hidden in the total scores. For example, we will compare the actual responses on the separate items for Case 2 with those by Case 23 which in terms of total scores appear very similar. Thus in Table 4 we see that, although in both cases the *total* score was practically the same in columns II and III, there are a number of disagreements in the individual items (see items 4, 6, 8, and 10) in Case 2, and no discrepancy in Case 23.

In Case 2 the person resisted his conception of the group norms to the extent of six points in the pro-Russian direction (items 4 and 8), and also resisted to the extent of six points in the anti-Russian direction (items 6 and 10), making the total score the same. On the other hand, Case 23 on each item conformed to her conceptions of the group norms even though it meant becoming more pro-Russian on items 1, 5, 6, 7, and 12, and more anti-Russian on item 2. Thus we see the inadequacy of total scores for describing the individual variation in relationship to his conception of the group norm.

These two cases are discussed because they afford the most clear contrast with respect to the degree to which individual variations are concealed by total scores. In no other cases was the inconsistency as great as in Case 2.

TABLE 4. A COMPARISON OF THE RESPONSES OF TWO INDIVIDUALS ON EACH ITEM IN THE THREE SCORES

Item Number	Case # 2			Case #23		
	I Private Opinion	II Estimate of Group	III Public Opinion	I Private Opinion	II Estimate of Group	III Public Opinion
1	1	2	2	1	2	2
2	2	1	1	3	1	1
3	4	4	4	3	3	3
4	2	4	2	2	2	2
5	2	1	1	2	4	4
6	4	1	5	3	4	4
7	2	5	5	1	2	2
8	1	5	1	2	2	2
9	3	2	2	4	4	4
10	4	2	4	4	4	4
11	2	4	4	4	4	4
12	5	5	5	4	5	5
Total	32	36	36	33	37	37

In order to avoid such deception and in order to sharpen our analysis, we will use the following four terms to describe the possible relationships between the three types of responses.

Agreement will indicate the extent to which the person's private opinion coincides with his estimate of the group opinion.

Conformity will indicate the degree to which the person alters his private opinion to conform more closely to his conception of the group norms when speaking in the group.

Resistance will indicate the extent to which a person retains his original private opinion despite his conception of the group as being different.

Reaction will be used to describe the situation where a person in effect reverses the direction of his private opinion in order to be different from the group.

The frequency of each of these modes of adjustment for each individual is shown in Table 5. A comparison of column A with any of the other columns is not valid because the figures in column A represent the number of *items* out of the 12 where the individual's responses indicated no differences between his private opinion and his

TABLE 5. THE DEGREE OF AGREEMENT, CONFORMITY, RESISTANCE, AND REACTION BY INDIVIDUAL CASES

Case No.	A Agreement[1]	B Conformity[2]	C Resistance[2]	D Reaction[2]
1	2	4	6	0
2	2	9	8	1
3	1	0	8	9
4	1	11	1	3
5	3	5	2	4
6	5	2	6	2
7	7	4	2	2
8	8	5	2	0
9	3	7	1	2
10	0	6	7	2
11	2	9	4	1
12	0	7	3	6
13	0	5	5	2
14	1	10	8	6
15	3	5	1	3
16	2	5	1	4
17	3	3	5	2
18	4	2	6	8
19	5	13	0	0
20	6	7	0	0
21	3	8	2	1
22	2	5	3	3
23	6	8	0	0
24	1	3	2	6
Total	70	143	83	67

[1] These figures indicate the number of *items* out of the 12 where the person's private opinion agreed with his conception of the group norms.

[2] These figures represent the number of degrees discrepancy on the five-point response.

conception of the group opinion. However, a comparison of columns B, C, and D is meaningful since the figures in each of these columns represent the total number of *degrees* of a given type of response for the 12 items. Therefore, inspection of Table 5 allows us to compare individuals with respect to the *proportion* of conformity, resistance, or reaction. However, the total of columns B, C, and D for any one case is limited by the number of items, indicated in column A, where there was agreement between the person's private opinion and his estimate of the group opinion. Only when the individual's private opinion differs from his estimate of the group opinion can we record the effect of his conception of the group opinion on his expression of public opinion. The totals of columns B, C, and D indicate that for the group as a whole, conformity was the predominant mode of adjustment to the discrepancy between the person's private opinion and his estimate of the group opinion.

Since the reliability of these responses is unknown, no attempt is made to explain why each individual had a particular proportion of conformity, resistance, or reaction. Instead, it would seem more prudent to select only the extreme conformists and the extreme non-conformists and explore the case study materials in an attempt to explain these contrasting patterns of adjustment.

The degree of conformity was determined by the formula $B-(C+D)$, where the letters refer to the columns in Table 5. The conformists chosen were those with two highest scores on this formula, and the non-conformists were the two lowest. Applying the formula to the cases in Table 5 we find Cases 19 and 23 to be the conformists and Cases 3 and 18 to be the non-conformists.

CASE STUDY MATERIALS

The writer does not claim that the evidence presented by the case study materials is conclusive nor does he claim that it was collected in such a manner that the collection of this portion of the data could be precisely repeated and verified. However, the writer feels that after having an intimate acquaintance with the personalities, through living in close contact with them for over a year and systematically gathering case materials for over three months, some significant insights have been gained.

Case 3 (non-conformist). Mr. W. is a 25 year old, part-time student who is working on a full-time job. He is highly intelligent. He is not closely identified with the cooperative living group, but belongs to a small gang of high-school buddies with whom he plays cards and drinks. He mentioned that he craved recognition, which he found hard to get in the co-op group, but liked living there because he "hated to live alone, and besides I need someone around to kick me out of bed in the morning or to call the boss and tell him I'm sick and can't work."

The writer has observed Mr. W. taking opposite sides on the same issue from time to time, and he admits "getting a kick" out of showing his knowledge and shocking people with his views. He also feels there is no great penalty for having contrary views. . . . "No one gives a damn what you say or do as long as you get your work-job done. Everyone here is liberal, or at least thinks he is."

In this case we find three important factors which seem to account for Mr. W.'s non-conformity. First, he is more closely identified with his high-school gang and does not depend heavily upon the co-op group for intimate response. Second, he admits craving recognition, "but I don't get it here at the co-op; I'm just a plain old Joe here, and a prize dope." Perhaps his apparent negativistic shifting of sides, to show off his knowledge and shock people, is an attempt to obtain this recognition. Third, he conceives the group sanctions to be mild and tolerant.

Case 18 (non-conformist). Miss X. is a professional worker, 25 years of age, who has lived at the co-op house for about a year. She was born in Austria and spent a few years in England. According to her own testimony most of her social contacts are in this group. "I came hoping that the informal atmosphere would help me get rid of some of my inhibitions and peculiar reactions to the opposite sex. I don't belong to any cliques outside of the co-op. I have always lived in some peculiar circumstances where I have never really become sociable."

She feels that the group is tolerant of deviations. She points out that although there is a wide range of opinions on vital matters. . . . "They all get along pretty well because both sides are tolerant and want to 'live and let live.' "

Miss X. is a socialist who in general seems to have a more moderate view of Russia than many. A statement which seems to represent her position is, "Even the U.S.A. is not very democratic, and Russia is less so. I think the Labor Party in England will do a better job of balancing both economic and political power."

Miss X. according to the observations of the writer, her friends, and her own testimony, has deep-seated negativistic reaction patterns. . . . "If they (men) think I am a 'loose girl' I like to prove that I'm not; and if they think I am too prudish, I like to pretend that I really don't have any inhibitions but am just being coy. I'm not just trying to attract them because as soon as they get interested, then I change. Yet I don't want them to leave. I don't know why that is."

We see that both Mr. W. and Miss X. have personality traits which might increase the possibility of a negativistic reaction in the group. Both of them define the group as being tolerant. Both have superior intelligence and college degrees and no inferior

feeling regarding personal appearance. Here the similarity ends. He is well integrated into an outside clique while she has her most intimate associations in the co-op group. However, her reaction to others is in many cases of a non-adjustive nature, and she is not well integrated into any social group. Perhaps her identification with the group is not great despite the fact that she does not have a greater degree of identification elsewhere.

Case 19 (conformist). Mr. Y. is 20 years old, has not completed his high-school education which he is attempting to do on the G.I. Bill. He has been at the co-op house only two months. He is of Jewish background and is minority conscious. He is from a lower socio-economic class and has aspirations for upward mobility via education. He has a strong identification with the co-op group. He says, "It is the first place that I have found since I came back from the army that made me feel at home. I don't have to worry about discrimination here and nobody is going to push me around. That's one reason why I want to get an education. . . . That's one reason I came to the co-op. There are lots of students here, and they are all smarter than I am. It is a good chance to learn a lot. . . . I don't know anything about Russia as it is today even if my mother does tell me how things were when she was there forty years ago . . . and it sounds like a place where people get pushed around, but I don't know anything about it so why should I show my ignorance?"

Mr. Y.'s dependence on the group is obvious. He likes the group and feels it is a privilege to mingle with those who are "smarter" than he is. He willingly and consciously conforms to a group who would "never push me around."

Case 23 (conformist). Miss Z. is also a relatively new member in the house. She is 21 years old, attractive, Negro, and striving for upward social mobility by way of the teaching profession. She has finished college, dresses well, has "good manners," and considers tact and diplomacy a very desirable trait in herself. She is gregarious and finds the co-op a "haven of refuge" while waiting for a full-time teaching job. She expresses her attitude toward the group in the following manner.

"I was told before I came into the co-op that it didn't make any difference whether you were white, black, or something in between, and I've found that to be true. I have been so fed

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up on prejudice—even the Negroes are prejudiced against other Negroes and whites."

In an informal interview after the experimental situation she explained that she wasn't sure whether her statements in the group were the group's opinions or her own. "I was left with no alternative but to assume or interpret what is meant by each statement without asking the interviewer, so I tried to interpret the meaning of each statement according to what I thought it meant to most of the other people in the house. . . . I know that there are some people in the house who are in political science and international relations who know a lot more about Russia than I do. I should know a lot more but I don't."

In both cases (19 and 23) there is a strong identification with the group in the sense that it fulfills certain needs for the individual. Also, both people feel that their opinion on the matter is inferior to the others. In Mr. Y.'s case it seems that his conformity is more intentional, while in the case of Miss Z., it takes the form of changed interpretation of the meaning of the questions in view of the probable meaning to others in the group. It is impossible to say why Mr. Y. conformed more than Miss Z., but one factor is that Miss Z. did not conceive of the group norms as being as far from her anonymous opinion as did Mr. Y. This fact places a limit upon the degree of conformity possible in her case.

In comparing the two most extreme conformists with the two most non-conformist members of this group, we find certain rather clear differences. First, the conformists had a number of factors which contributed to their need for security and acceptance into the group. Second, certain combinations of factors made them feel that their opinion was less important than their being accepted. And third, there was the implication that they could not deviate strongly from the group without jeopardizing their present or future status.

On the other hand, the non-conformists not only had certain personality factors which might predispose them toward a negative reaction to the group norms, but also it appears that they did not have as much to lose nor did they seem to feel that they would lose anything by non-conformity in this particular group. The writer, after living with the group for three years, feels that as

people remain in the group longer, they become aware of a wider range of values and find that there is even more tolerance of ideas than they suspected. Among the older members there is not only tolerance of different ideas, whether conservative or radical, but a certain prestige value in being different if the difference is sincere.[3]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Awareness of Group Pressure. Both the symbolic responses of the members of the group and the more subtle non-symbolic interaction in the group clearly indicate an acute awareness of the presence of the other members of the group when they are asked to express their opinion. Confused efforts to appear nonchalant, efforts to escape the situation, and attempts to prevent others from hearing one's response are all tell-tale signs of the awareness of pressure.

2. Accuracy of Estimate of Group Opinion. Although there was a considerable range in the accuracy of individual's estimates of the group opinion, certain general relationships were found. (1) As indicated in Table 1 nearly everyone in the group correctly estimated the *direction* of the group opinion in relation to his own private opinion. (2) But, as indicated in Table 2, there was a strong tendency to underestimate the degree of this discrepancy. In 20 out of 24 cases those who were above the median score for the group estimated the group opinion to be higher than it was or *vice versa*.

Here it is important to note that there was no significant or consistent difference in the accuracy of individual estimates of group opinion which could be related to the order in which the person was interviewed. This was true despite the fact that those who were interviewed last had heard many more responses from the members of the group upon which they could base an objective estimate. There are some possible explanations which would merit further investigation. (1) They may not have accepted the

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[3] The writer is acutely aware that no generalizations can be made from a rather impressionistic analysis of four extreme cases. It is also clear that the rough generalizations abstracted from these four cases are obscured or do not apply in other conforming or non-conforming cases.

expressions of public opinion in the group as representing the real attitudes of the individual, or (2) the total effect may have been too confusing and therefore the respondent used some modification of his preconceived image of the group in estimating the group opinion. (3) Each respondent may have been interested only in the reactions of certain individuals in the group.

Although from one point of view it is important to understand the various factors influencing the accuracy of the estimate of the group opinion, the significant factor which influences the person's behavior in the group is his subjective feeling and imagery with regard to the group norms regardless of how accurately this feeling and imagery may reflect the "objective" situation.

3. The Effect of the Definition of the Situation. We have already commented briefly upon the effect on the qualitative non-symbolic interaction in the group and will restrict the comments at this point to the effect upon the quantitative symbolic responses.

In general, the individuals tended to conform to their conception of the group norms when giving their public opinion. The typical pattern is for the individual to compromise between his private opinion and his conception of the group opinion when expressing his public opinion.

In addition to merely comparing the total scores, a more searching analysis of the data was made by making an item-by-item comparison of the three types of responses for each individual. This type of analysis indicated three types of adjustment to differences between the person's private opinion and his conception of the group norms. About 49 per cent of these adjustments followed the conformity pattern, 28 per cent followed the resistance pattern, and 22 per cent followed the reaction pattern. Most of the individuals did not fall clearly into one of these adjustment patterns but there was a wide variation in the proportion of each type of adjustment by each individual. However, there were three cases (see cases #19, #20, and #23 in Table 5) who were pure conformists and one case (#3) who showed no conformity in his adjustment pattern.

4. Causes of the Variation in Adjustment Patterns. Since the reliability of the responses had not been established, only the two extreme conformists and the two extreme non-conformists were selected in an attempt to explain these apparently opposite types of adjustment. The following factors were felt by the writer to be significant in explaining the varying degrees of conformity and may serve as hypotheses for a more precise and controlled study: (1) the degree of the person's identification with the group, (2) his conception of the group's attitude toward non-conformity, (3) his conception of his own role in relation to the group, and (4) special personality traits such as negativism.

MOBILITY FACTORS AS THEY AFFECT WORKERS' ATTITUDES AND CONDUCT TOWARD INCENTIVE SYSTEMS

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THERE have been many studies on the effects of incentive systems. The method of such studies usually consists of measuring the response of workers to modification or installation of incentive plans, or of comparing factories with differing incentive plans. Strangely enough, there has been no interest in comparing the opera- tion of incentive systems among factory workers with those among white-collar workers. The study reported here started as an investigation of the attitudes and work relations of white collar workers. It was found in the process of investigation that comparisons could be made between the work organization of department store salesmen

and of factory workers. Such comparisons throw light on the relationships between (1) organization of work, (2) attitudes of workers, and (3) response to incentive systems.

In a comparison of factory workers and department store salesmen, the following hypotheses were developed and investigated:

1. Vertical mobility creates a bond or tie of interest between subordinate and superordinate (i.e. worker and manager) and tends to orient subordinates to the views of their superiors.

2. Vertical mobility functions to reinforce an "individualistic" attitude or ideology toward work organization and output.

3. An "individualistic" ideology or attitude toward work orients workers against output restriction.

The purpose of this paper is to show that these three things—vertical mobility, an individualistic ideology, and a lack of restriction of output—are functionally related. In explaining this relationship, we do not assume that wherever vertical mobility exists, an "individualistic" ideology will always be evident. Neither do we assert that an orientation or ideology of "individualism" always gives rise to a lack of restriction of output, because it is evident that belief and conduct are not always the same. However, from the comparison of store and factory it can be stated that an individualistic belief appears to be a powerful force or factor related to a lack of restriction of output. None of the hypotheses is new, but the attempt to show that they are interrelated has not previously been made.

The following definitions of terms will be used:

1. By *restriction of output* we mean agreement among workers that each individually will not produce as much as he can, and that each will be governed by a ceiling above which none will go without experiencing the disapproval of his fellow workers. This might be called collective disagreement between managers and workers over production standards.

2. By *vertical mobility* we mean movement or promotion from the level of worker to that of manager.

3. By *"individualistic" ideology* we mean the belief on the part of a worker that he should look to his own resources or self-interest in determining his actions and interactions on the job.[1] The opposite, a "collectivistic" ideology, assumes that the individual's interests are subordinated to group ends; therefore, the individual does not look to himself for decisions concerning matters such as output levels.

The study of a department store was carried out by the author of this paper,[2] and the results were compared to studies of factories made by three researchers—Orvis Collins, Melville Dalton, and Donald Roy.[3] One factory in particular, studied by Mr. Dalton, was selected for comparison with the department store. Both the store and the factory to be compared are located in the Chicago area. For our purposes, we may say that they have identical incentive plans, individual piecework in one case and straight commissions in the other. The department store has about 500 employees, and the factory several thousand. One department of the factory was studied; it consisted of 200 workers.

We wish first to present conclusions concerning mobility in the department store, the "individualistic" definition of work held by salesmen, and the lack of restriction of output. Then we wish to present conclusions concerning mobility in the factory, the definitions of work held by workers, and the practice of restriction of output. Finally, we will point to the limitations of this study and the problems it raises.

THE DEPARTMENT STORE

A. *Mobility Systems.* The ABC chain, of which this department store is a unit, has had

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[1] The definition of individualism given by Redfield is similar to the one above but relates to any social situation: "We may understand a society to be individualistic to the extent that the socially approved behavior of its members does not involve family, clan, neighborhood, village, or other primary group." R. Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 255–256.

[2] A more extended analysis of this topic will be found in, Robert C. Stone, "Vertical Mobility and Ideology: A Study of White Collar Workers," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1949.

[3] Restriction of Output and Social Cleavage in Industry," *Applied Anthropology*, Summer, 1946.

a tremendous growth in business. This particular store has a high turnover rate of personnel and a high ratio of managers to salesmen in the selling force (about 7 salesmen per manager). These facts mean that there are potentially many openings in management ranks. With the exception of two persons, all the management of the store has been drawn from salesmen ranks. About 1 out of 10 regular salesmen is on the management books as "promotable" and is considered ready for promotion as job openings occur.

On the basis of interviewing, it was found that salesmen understand their chances for promotion rather well and they think it is possible to "get ahead." Out of 60 salesmen interviewed, at least 30 mentioned that the chance to get ahead was of great importance to them—in fact, they said it was one of the principal reasons for working for the ABC Company. Further, they said that if they could not "get ahead" at the ABC Company, they would go elsewhere.

B. *Attitudes or Ideology of Salesmen.* Our hypothesis is that, because the salesmen believe in the chance for promotion, they are oriented toward the views of their superiors and hold to a definition of work which we have called individualistic. Evidence showing that salesmen hold to an individualistic definition of work is based upon interviews with 60 salesmen. These interviews point to the conclusions that, on the level of verbal response, a salesman adheres to a belief that the individual should have the right to decide for himself his response to the incentive system and he should not have his definition of work output subordinated to any group definition. In other words, these salesmen place self-interest considerations as paramount in the job situation, and group or collective considerations as subsidiary.

Of the 60 salesmen interviewed, the 30 who indicated that mobility or promotion considerations were of central importance to them displayed the following characteristics in their interviews: (1) loyalty to employers, and (2) a tendency to accept the beliefs of those above them. This relationship between importance attached to promotion and orientation to those above is expressed in the following excerpt from an interview:

If a guy is going to become a manager, he can't help but think like the management does. That means that he is going to accept the capitalistic system. Now I have lots of sympathy for labor unions and what they are trying to do for people. But if you are going to move up into management, you just have to think the way they do. That means you can't be in conflict with the viewpoint of the people you are under.

We conclude then that the existence of vertical mobility within the store tends to orient subordinates to the views of their superiors and tends to reinforce an "individualistic" ideology toward work. Those salesmen who are the most desirous of promotion tended to be oriented most clearly toward their superiors.

If it be true that the ambitious and mobile salesmen tend to be oriented toward management, what about the large group (50 per cent or more) who know they will not be promoted or who are not interested in being promoted? It is obvious that vertical mobility does not operate with them or does not create any direct bond of interest or loyalty to employers. It was found that these non-mobile salesmen are more sensitive to changes in their pay and more interested in their pay as such. They also place more emphasis upon security factors in the job. In fact, because of their increased interest in the pay check, these people tend to compete more vigorously for sales, and thus to react to the incentive system as strongly as the ambitious and mobile salesmen. The salesman with fixed status is the closest approximation to the ideal "economic man." However, the interview data point to the fact that these salesmen, as indicated by verbal statements, adhere to an individualistic work ideology. Why is this so?

It was concluded that these salesmen who are fixed in status believe in an individualistic definition of work because they are members of a class of persons, namely salesmen, whose beliefs are oriented to the fact that many of their members will be promoted even if *every one* is not. The mobile salesmen stand to the non-mobile group as visible symbols of the fact that mobility operates for salesmen and white-collar work-

ers in general. Hence, the anomalous situation arises that workers with fixed status in factory and store react in opposite ways to the existence of similar incentive systems. This points to the function of vertical mobility in reinforcing a belief in the ideology of "individualism" among salesmen.

C. *Work Organization and Output Restriction*. The salesmen's belief in an individualistic definition of work is articulated on the level of conduct by the work organization and actions of salesmen in each department.

The social organization of salesmen tends to revolve around the principle of fair play in competing for sales. By devices such as the "turn system" (giving each salesman a chance for an equal number of customers), competition is regulated. Individuals who do not abide by this system and refuse to recognize any rules are sometimes disciplined and, in extreme cases, the offender may be ostracized. Sometimes, also, fair play breaks down and the rush for customers becomes a "dog eat dog" affair.

There are also in many departments informal rules, frequently enforced by the division manager, which operate to subordinate new salesmen, women, and "extras." This organization among salesmen controlling the distribution of sales does not result, however, in controlling the total output of a given department. It merely operates to maintain a control over competition so that salesmen will not be in continual conflict. Consequently, we can say that there are informal rules of work, but that they operate to give maximum autonomy in allowing each salesman to make as many sales as possible. The net result of this is that work organization among salesmen operates in conformity with, rather than in opposition to, management's conception of the incentive system. While there was variation between departments in the organization of salesmen, there were no cases of output restriction found within this store.

The fact that work organization allows autonomy to salesmen in defining their output levels does not mean that each salesman will work as hard as he can. A given salesman may be "lazy" or indifferent and simply may not try to sell as much as he can. But this does not constitute restriction of output, because it is an individual phenomenon.

Another way of documenting the definition of work held by the salesmen is in terms of their reaction to special sales days within the store. Salesmen believe that a sales day is their big opportunity to make money, and consequently they sell as much as possible.

THE FACTORY

A. *Mobility Systems*. Let us take up now the contrasting group operating under a similar incentive plan—the workers in a factory. Mr. Dalton, who collected these data, worked in this factory for a number of years, knew a considerable number of the production workers well (machinists of various skill levels), and was himself involved in keeping records of individuals under the piecework system. He had access, therefore, both to the beliefs and sentiments of employees and to their actual records of production. Dalton found that there was a general sentiment of cleavage between workers and managers.[4] Workers were either worker- or management-oriented, and those who were management-oriented were considered company men. The loyalty of a majority of workers in the department studied went first to their work group and second to the company. These workers believed that there was little chance for workers as a group to rise within the hierarchy of the factory. Data for this conclusion are based upon interview evidence.[5] There were no data provided concerning the number of managers in this plant who had been promoted from the work level. Hence, we do not actually know whether the beliefs of the workers concerning their fixed status are consistent with their objective chances for becoming managers. However, Collins, Dalton, and Roy concluded that workers in all three of the factories which they studied believe that a chance for them to "get ahead" in the American economy does exist, but that they have no chance to get ahead as production workers in a factory.[6]

B. *Attitudes or Ideology of Production Workers*. Mr. Dalton, from interview evidence, concludes that, with the exception of a small group of "rate busters," workers in

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

one department of this factory believe that an individualistic definition of the work situation is self-defeating, and hence they are oriented to a collective approach. This collectivistic definition of work has its setting in a conflict situation with management. These production workers not only take a group-oriented attitude toward work output, but they conceive of their approach to work as a defensive one bound up with conflict attitudes toward management as a category of persons.

C. *Work Organization and Output Restriction.* Except in the case of 7 or 8 workers, restriction of output was practiced. There was a ceiling or customary level of output which all workers agreed not to exceed. This informal agreement obviously opposes management's conception of individual incentive plans. The 7 or 8 workers who did not abide by these informal rules were considered as "rate busters." These workers had their own private and individual definitions of how much work they would do. These individual definitions were not always a resolution to do as much work as the worker was capable of doing, but they did represent output levels much higher than the other workers in this department. It would appear from the interview material presented by Mr. Dalton that restriction of output in this one department of a factory was not just a routine and acquiescent practice for all persons in the department. Rather, it was a powerful system of social control with reference to work output, and revolved around basic conflict with management over the definition of how work should be evaluated and organized. Consequently, the "rate busters" were considered as persons who threatened the group definition of work output.

In summary, we have described two plants, one a store and the other a department of a factory, both having similar incentive pay systems. In the store, it was found that managers were drawn mainly from the work level. Promotion or mobility was considered important by a number of the salesmen interviewed. The attitude of the salesmen toward work was individualistic. Restriction of output was not practiced. In the factory described, the opposite set of conditions appears to exist. Mobility is lacking, a collectivistic work ideology exists, and there is restriction of output.

Comparison of data drawn from store and factory appears to support the hypotheses we have presented. However, we need to know if there are factors or variables other than mobility which may cause the differences that exist between store and factory. Unless all other factors that might affect attitudes and work performance are held constant, we do not accurately know the relationship between mobility, belief, and conduct.

CONCLUSIONS

We will consider the following factors which may be the cause of differences between store and factory: (1) customers; (2) rate-cutting; (3) job scarcity; (4) social status; (5) unionism; (6) leadership.

1. Let us take first the fact that the store has customers. It may be argued that the presence of customers forces the salesmen to wait upon them. Obviously, no such pressure exists in the factory. Actually, however, the pressure exerted by customers does not appear to be great. Salesmen respond to customers only if it is to their advantage. It happens that the salesman's definition of output is similar to that of management insofar as maximizing sales is concerned. But the customers are merely a means to an end, and if salesmen did not define work in an individualistic manner, the fact of customers would make little difference to them. This is proved by the fact that when it is to the economic advantage of salesmen, they will ignore customers. For example, they will wait upon customers who are interested in high price items and will ignore those customers who wish to buy toothpaste or nails.

2. Secondly, there is the case of rate-cutting. Actually, rate-cutting takes place in the department store as well as in the factory. When business increases, and the managers think that customers are getting away, they will add new salesmen. This actually can operate to reduce, in some cases, the earnings of the other salesmen by a small amount, because the increase in the size of total sales is not enough to sustain the selling activities of another man. Therefore,

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rate-cutting, because it exists in both factory and store, is not the source for differing responses to the incentive system.

3. The third factor to consider is the phenomenon of "working oneself out of a job" (job scarcity). It is true that this factor is found in the factory, and not in the department store. You cannot "work yourself out of a job" in a department store in the same sense that you can in a factory. Any given store has only a fraction of the business, and could actually expand, in terms of the market, almost indefinitely. In the factory, there appears to be a widespread belief in the notion of stretching the work to make it last. From this many writers have concluded that job scarcity is the cause of restriction of output. However, job scarcity probably is not a total explanation, but rather only one factor, and is related to the existence of a collective approach to work. Where workers believe that their status is fixed, it is much easier for them to take a group attitude toward the amount of work available. Where there is belief in promotion, it is much easier to take an individualistic definition of work and to feel that each should look out for himself, even if there is not enough work to go around. In the department store, "sales scarcity"—i.e., shortage of customers—does not create a collective attitude toward sales, but may function to heighten competition. Also, as another example, it may be noted that under conditions of job scarcity, academic people appear to increase their competition with one another for available jobs. Scarcity of jobs then appears to be interpreted differently, depending upon the social setting. Despite these qualifications, it must be stated that insecurity among production workers about the amount of available work probably tends to increase a group or collectivistic approach to incentives and leads to restriction of output. Therefore, mobility is not the sole factor creating attitudes toward incentives, but is related to job scarcity in that both factors affect workers' ideologies.

4. Fourthly, if social distance between salesmen and managers in the store is less than social distance between workers and managers in the factory, does this explain the difference in attitude and response between the two groups? Actually, little is known about the effects of differing systems of status upon work ideologies and work conduct. It may be, though, that this is a factor heightening the group approach to work on the part of factory workers, thus tending to give rise to restriction of output. Collins, Dalton, and Roy state that social status differences between office and shop are one factor creating restriction of output.[7] Social distance, then, was not held constant in our comparison.

5. Fifthly, is unionism the cause of differing responses to incentives? We can say categorically that this is not the cause. In cases where unions actively work against restrictive practices, it has been documented that workers have still maintained a group and restrictive approach to individual piecework systems. Also, where salesmen in stores of the ABC chain have organized in unions, they take a collective approach to the setting of commission rates; but once these are set, they still try to sell as much as they can and thus maximize their pay.

6. Finally, we must ask if there are differing leadership qualities in the two units, store and factory, that explain differing belief and response. It would appear that there are both effective and ineffective managers in the management group of store and factory; hence, leadership factors are random and do not account for differences in the two units.

To conclude our qualifications, then, we have found two factors which are probably associated with the development of work ideology and response to incentives. These factors, *social distance* and *job scarcity*, were not held constant in the comparison of store and factory, and consequently make it impossible to show precisely the relationship of mobility to work attitudes and work performance. However, it appears reasonable to conclude that further studies will show that vertical mobility tends to reinforce a work attitude of individualism and orients workers against output restriction—though other factors may alter this relationship somewhat.

Finally, a series of theoretical questions are raised but not answered in this study.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Is it conceivable that production workers do not believe in the chance for promotion, despite the fact that such promotion may in some cases occur as frequently as in department stores? Does the trend of modern industry tend to decrease the chance for workers to rise? Is there adequate literature to document the extent of restriction of output in various types of economic organizations? It has been assumed usually that restriction of output is a factory phenomenon—which it may or may not be. Answers to such questions as these will give more accurate knowledge of the relationship of mobility and other factors to work attitudes and work response.

SOME ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONAL BEHAVIOR WITH REFERENCE TO CHURCHES

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Southern Methodist University

AT least one of the many problems implicated in general research into the nature and functioning of social institutions is the problem of determining what relation, if any, there may be between verbal expressions of attitude toward an institutional organization and various kinds of overt behavior with respect to it. Are those individuals, for example, who express most favorable attitudes toward an institution such as the church also the individuals who attend most frequently or regularly its major ritual gatherings?

The study which is reported here focuses attention on what is only a fragmentary part of the total configuration of attitudes and other responses that go to make up "institutional behavior." Moreover, it deals with a limited population (of university Freshmen) and relates to only one type of institutional structure—namely, the church, broadly defined to designate any religious organization to which the student related himself in providing the information and responses asked for. If the data and the problem may be taken as representing or suggesting relationships among attitudes and responses with reference to other types of institutional organizations than the church, this study may be regarded as a contribution to the understanding of institutional behavior in its more general aspects. If not, the study nevertheless supplies some findings that may be of interest to sociologists.

PROCEDURE

The sample drawn for this study consisted of 257 students enrolled in seven sections of a Freshman course in social science at Southern Methodist University. Only those students who had not attended college prior to the semester in which the study was made were included, the purpose of this being to control as well as possible any "secularizing effects" of university education extending over more than the four months' time immediately preceding the administration of the test and questionnaire. (The study was made approximately four months after enrollment in order to give the newly-enrolled students some time to settle into what might be considered to be their post-enrollment church attendance habits.)

Of the 257 students originally included in the sample, twenty-three were rejected as second-semester Freshmen. Of the 234 students remaining, 197 were men and 37 women.[1] One hundred and sixty students were veterans and 74 non-veteran. There were 87 Methodists in the sample, 56 Baptists, 22 Presbyterians, 13 Roman Catholics, 8 who claimed no affiliation, 6 Jews (of whom 4 were orthodox), and the remainder were

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[1] The sample appears to have been a good one in terms of the proportions of men and of women it included. Of the 234 students, 197 or 84.2% were men; the proportion of men in the class of 2895 Freshmen enrolled in the university was 84.7%, and the difference was not significant.

members of various Protestant denominations. Ages ranged from 17 to 42 with bimodal peaks at 18 and 22. All except 7 of the male veterans were 20 or older; all five of the veteran women were 20 or older and all of the non-veteran women were 19 or younger, which indicated the presence of two distinctive age classes. Veterans, both men and women, were for the most part separated from the non-veterans by an age interval of from two to four years.

In testing for students' attitudes toward their churches, certain arbitrary decisions were made concerning the procedure. One of these was that the Thurstone-Chave test could be taken as a valid measure of the subjective factor in which the investigation would be interested.[2]

At the time the test was administered, students were asked to fill out a brief questionnaire. Data obtained included age, sex, marital status, military service, if any, and whether combat or non-combat, denominational affiliation of student, affiliations of parents (or guardians) and of wife (or husband) if married. Place of residence after enrollment (noted as "at home" or "away from parental home") was obtained subsequently from the files of the office of the dean of students.

It was decided that no more specific instruction than that given in the test would be made concerning whether "the church" referred to was the subject's own immediate congregation or parish, his denominational organization, or some larger organization, e.g., the body of believers in Christ, Orthodox Judaism, and the like. It was assumed that in reporting his church attendance habits, which each subject was asked to do, he would probably be reporting attendance

at his own denomination if not his own particular congregation and, further, that the institutional organization which he was attending (or not attending as the case may be) would be the same organization as the one to which his attitude, as recorded on the test, was related.

Church attendance was categorized as "regular" (i.e., every Sunday except for illness or other unavoidable circumstance), "frequent" (averaging twice a month), "occasional" (averaging four times every six months), "seldom" (as once or twice a year), and "not at all." Assured that all information would be kept confidential, students were asked to underscore the term which best described their church attendance for the four months after they had enrolled and to circle the term which best described their habits for the year preceding enrollment.

Data assembled from the test and questionnaire were then tabulated and subjected to a number of statistical tests and analyses which are described below.

FINDINGS CONCERNING ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHURCH

Attitudes of students included in this sample were, in general, much more favorable than unfavorable toward the church. The mean score for the entire group was 2.73 ± 1.36. For men it was 2.81 ± 1.37; for women 2.33 ± 1.24. Non-veterans' attitudes were more favorable than veterans' attitudes for both men and women, with non-combat veteran men showing somewhat less favorable attitudes than combat veterans, whose mean score was approximately the same as that for the entire sample. Differences between mean scores of men and women and between veterans and non-veterans were found to be significant at the five percent level; and the differences remained significant between veterans and non-veterans with the sex factor controlled, i.e., when men only were considered.

Differences between combat and non-combat veterans were not significant, suggesting that combat service, *per se*, may not have had any significant bearing on attitudes of veterans toward the church.

A number of factors appeared to modify the findings where sex differences in attitudes were concerned. For example, when age was

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[2] Assuming that this test and the way in which it is scored are familiar, it is necessary to note here only that the scale ranges from a very favorable score of 0.00 to a very antagonistic score of 11.00. As the scale values of various scores have been standardized for this test, the following interpretations are in order:

0.00– 1.49   strongly favorable to the church
1.50– 2.99   favorable to the church
3.00– 4.49   favorable with some reservations
4.50– 6.49   wavering in attitude
6.50– 7.99   slightly unfavorable
8.00– 9.49   antagonistic
9.50–11.00   strongly antagonistic

TABLE I. SOME FINDINGS ON TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE

Test conditions	Critical ratios
Between mean attitude scores of men and of women	2.09
Between proportions of men and of women having attitude scores of 0.00 to 3.00 (i.e., very favorable and favorable)	2.01
Between mean attitude scores of men and of women with age held constant (i.e., including only 17, 18, 19 year olds)	1.39
Between mean attitude scores of veterans of both sexes and of non-veterans	2.75
Between mean attitude scores of male veterans and male non-veterans	2.79
Between mean attitude scores of combat and non-combat male veterans	1.13
Between mean attitude scores of veteran and non-veteran males, 17 through 19 years old	2.04
Between mean attitude scores of men 19 years old and younger and men 20 and older	1.00
Between proportions of Methodists and of Roman Catholics with scores of 0.00 to 3.00	.49

controlled for the non-veterans in their 'teens, the difference between the sexes in their mean attitudes toward the church ceased to be significant.

Differences between veteran and non-veteran males, however, continued to be significant through various age categories—though for the younger (i.e., 19 and under) and the older (i.e., 23 and over) age categories they were less significant than was the difference between mean scores of those in the 20 through 22 years category. In each case the veterans were significantly less favorable than the non-veterans, although in no case could the veteran men as a group be considered as hostile or even indifferent in their attitudes.[3] The average score for veterans in the 17 through 22 year old group proved to be "favorable with some reservations."

For this sample, married students (37 of the 197 men) did not differ significantly from the unmarried students in their attitudes, nor did the leading Protestant groups —Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians— differ significantly from each other or from the small group of 13 Roman Catholics as far as their attitudes toward their churches were concerned. The Catholic students' attitudes were most favorable, but the difference between their mean attitude and that of the Methodists, who varied most from them among the three Protestant groups mentioned, was not significant.

Another factor that was examined was residence of the student before and after enrollment. As might have been anticipated in a church-related university, the attitudes

of those who had come away from home to attend college were somewhat more favorable to the church than the attitudes of those who were living at home and continued so after enrollment. In the case of the former, the mean attitude score was 2.48±1.19; for the latter it was 2.82±1.45. Variation was greater in the attitudes of the "at home" group. This observed difference may reflect a variation between predominately urban as against predominately small town and rural backgrounds although many of the students who came to college from out of the city came from urban environments.

FINDINGS CONCERNING PRE- AND POST-
ENROLLMENT CHURCH ATTENDANCE
HABITS

The second portion of this study concerns the church attendance habits of the 234 students during the year preceding their enrollment in the university and for the four months following. Using the same categories of students as above, the questions to be raised here are: What are the present church attendance habits of these students? How do they differ from their attendance habits before enrollment? Are the differences significant and, if so, do they continue to be significant as different factors or sets of factors are progressively controlled?

The tables on the following pages show the pre- and post-enrollment attendance of various categories of students, together with net changes as between previous and present practice for each category.

Of the 234 students, approximately 40% reported their attendance before enrollment as regular; 24% reported regular attendance after enrollment. Twenty-five per cent were frequent attenders before while 30% were

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[3] The most hostile attitudes which were expressed were found for two non-combat 20-year olds and one combat veteran of 22. All three were single males.

TABLE II. REPORTED CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF STUDENTS BEFORE AND AFTER ENROLLMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY

For entire sample of 234 students:

Attendance record	Pre-enrollment	Post-enrollment	Net change
Not at all	5	15	10
Seldom	25	30	5
Occasional	53	62	9
Frequent	58	71	13
Regular	93	56	−37

For 114 students residing at home after enrollment:

Attendance record	Pre-enrollment	Post-enrollment	Net change
Not at all	2	8	6
Seldom	14	16	2
Occasional	25	28	3
Frequent	31	30	−1
Regular	42	32	−10

For 84 students residing away from home after enrollment:

Attendance record	Pre-enrollment	Post-enrollment	Net change
Not at all	1	4	3
Seldom	5	7	2
Occasional	20	25	5
Frequent	15	29	14
Regular	43	19	−24

For 197 men students:

Attendance record	Pre-enrollment	Post-enrollment	Net change
Not at all	3	16	13
Seldom	26	26	0
Occasional	49	57	8
Frequent	47	55	8
Regular	72	43	−29

For 37 women students

Attendance record	Pre-enrollment	Post-enrollment	Net change
Not at all	0	1	1
Seldom	3	3	0
Occasional	2	5	3
Frequent	12	14	2
Regular	20	14	−6

For 77 combat veteran men:

Attendance record	Pre-enrollment	Post-enrollment	Net change
Not at all	1	5	4
Seldom	9	10	1
Occasional	21	31	10
Frequent	18	18	0
Regular	28	13	−15

For 77 non-combat veteran men:

Attendance record	Pre-enrollment	Post-enrollment	Net change
Not at all	2	9	7
Seldom	14	13	−1
Occasional	20	19	−1
Frequent	16	20	4
Regular	25	16	−9

For 43 non-veteran men:

Attendance record	Pre-enrollment	Post-enrollment	Net change
Not at all	0	2	2
Seldom	3	3	0
Occasional	8	7	−1
Frequent	13	17	4
Regular	19	14	−5

frequent after; 23% occasional before and 26% occasional after; 11% seldom before, 13% seldom after; 2% not at all before and 6% not at all after.

As is apparent from the subsequent classifications, the falling away in attendance is greater for the men than for the women and greater for those who came away from home than for those still at home after enrollment. Men fell away from regular attendance by over 40%; women by 30%. Those who remained at home after enrollment fell off from regular attendance by 24%; those away from home after enrollment by 48%.

These findings led to two further questions: (1) were men and women significantly different from each other in the proportions of regular attenders in each group before enrolling as well as after?, and (2) were those still at home and those away from home after enrollment significantly different from each other in the amount of regular church attendance before as well as after enrollment?

On the first point, differences in proportions of regular attenders of men and of women were found to be significant before enrollment as well as after. Women students were simply more regular church attenders than the men.

On the second point, it was found that those who had come away from home had had, while they were still at home, a significantly higher proportion of regular attenders among them than those who were at home both before and after enrollment. But this difference in proportions of regular attenders ceased to be significant when the former came away from home. Perhaps many of those who were away from home had come from homes or communities where regular attendance at church was a strong rule but had promptly adjusted themselves to the prevailing pattern of less regular attendance of those among whom they came. The more pronounced changes in habits of church attendance that marked those who came away from home continued to be significant for both veterans and non-veterans and for both sexes. This suggests that change in residence rather than sex or veteran experience is significant in "predicting" whether church attendance habits of newcomers to the university would change.

When age and marital status are also taken into account, differences in ages did not seem to be particularly important in relation to the amount of regular church attendance or the amount of change from regular to other attendance habits except that the 17 and 18 year olds in the sample —both men and women at home and away from home after enrollment—appeared to be attending regularly in greater proportion than men and women students in older age groups.

Among veteran and non-veteran men who remained at home, the two most common patterns of attendance appeared to be either consistent regularity of attendance or consistent occasional attendance. In the case of all students who had come away from home, the prevalent pattern for those who changed seemed to be to fall back one degree from what had been the individual's previous habit—e.g., from regular to frequent, or from frequent to occasional attendance, and so on.

Another way of getting at this point is to examine the percentages of persons at home and away from home who remained consistent, the percentages of those who backslid (and by how many degrees), and the percentages of those who increased their attendance.

Seventy-five per cent of those who remained at home reported that they were continuing to do what they had done prior to enrolling. Fifty-seven per cent of those away from home reported consistency in church attendance habits. This is a significant difference; but it might be noted that in both instances the *majority* reported consistency in their pre- and post-enrollment church attendance habits. Stated conversely, 24% of those remaining at home backslid; 43% of those away from home did so; and, in addition, 2% of those at home increased their attendance but none of those away from home did so.

Another finding of interest was that none of those who had been regular church attenders before enrolling in the university ceased entirely to attend—at least within the first four months after enrollment. One student who stayed on at home to go to college slid back from regular to seldom; one still at home increased his attendance from occasional to regular.

Of the four denominations mentioned as having the largest numbers of students repre-

sented in the sample, the proportion of Roman Catholics who had been regular and remained regular attenders was highest and this proportion remained least changed. Regular attendance for Methodists fell from about 48% before to about 25% after enrollment for the 87 students of that denomination in the sample; regular attendance for Baptists fell from about 34% before to about 21% after enrollment; that for Presbyterian from about 36% before to about 18% afterwards.

In some respects the finding that was most important was the rather high proportion of

ment attitude toward the church. (The reasoning in this case was that the more frequent the attendance was, the more favorable the attitude toward the church might be expected to be.)

(4) a coefficient of .51 between attitude toward the church score and post-enrollment church attendance.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, this study has found predominately favorable attitudes toward the church among Freshman students in an urban, church-related university in the Southwest during the post-war years. Significant

TABLE III. RELATION OF PRE- AND POST-ENROLLMENT CHURCH ATTENDANCE FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE

Present attendance	Not at all	Seldom	Pre-enrollment attendance Occasional	Frequent	Regular	Total
Not at all	3	7	4	1	0	15
Seldom	2	17	5	5	1	30
Occasional	0	0	41	14	7	62
Frequent	0	1	2	37	31	71
Regular	0	0	1	1	54	56
Total	5	25	53	58	93	234

students who continued to do what they said they had done before. This was about 65%. Approximately 32% of those in the sample backslid and 2% increased their attendance. Fifty-four of the 234 students said they were regular church attenders before enrollment and that they were still regular attenders.

FINDINGS ON THE RELATION OF PRE-ENROLLMENT CHURCH ATTENDANCE, POST-ENROLLMENT ATTENDANCE AND THE RELATION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHURCH TO EACH OF THESE

One final group of findings remains to be reported. This consists of those findings regarding the possible relation of present church attendance to pre-enrollment attendance and the possible correlations between attendance habits and attitudes toward the church.

The measures of correlation calculated in each case here were coefficients of contingency, among which the following were found:

(1) a coefficient of .75 between pre-enrollment and post-enrollment church attendance habits for the entire sample,

(2) a coefficient of .71 between pre- and post-enrollment attendance habits of the men.

(3) a coefficient of .42 between pre-enrollment church attendance and post-enroll-

differences appeared more frequently and more consistently between veterans and non-veterans than between students of different ages, denominational backgrounds, or sex. The differences between veterans and non-veterans, moreover, seem to be as marked with respect to their church attendance habits as they are with respect to their attitudes toward the church.

There was found also positive relationship between attitude toward the church and church attendance habits, but the correlation between pre-enrollment and post-enrollment habits was higher than any that existed between either pre-enrollment attendance and post-enrollment attitudes or between post-enrollment attitude and post-enrollment attendance. This suggests that previous church attendance habits rather than verbal expressions of attitude toward the church (at least as the latter is recorded on the Thurstone-Chave scale) are a more reliable base for estimating post-enrollment attendance habits.

For the group as a whole there was much less change in church attendance habits than might have been anticipated—or, stated otherwise, there is much more consistency than there is change in either direction from previous attendance habits. Where there is change, as from frequent to occasional attendance, it is usually not an extreme change.

MORAL JUDGMENT: A STUDY IN ROLES

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THIS paper is concerned with the way in which an individual conceives his role in a situation in which a close friend has violated a moral norm. Based on two such situations, one involving theft of $500.00 and one a promiscuous premarital sex relation, a typology of roles is formulated. An effort is then made to describe some related elements of the act of selecting such a role.

The study is conceived as part of the larger problem of how the mores of society become the attitudes of individuals, through being fitted into the individual's role conceptions and ideologies.

The data consist of written responses to a projective type of questionnaire, administered to 120 students[1] in the first week of an upper division class in marriage and family, at the University of California, Los Angeles. One-paragraph descriptions of each situation were presented. Following each situation, the respondent was asked to identify himself as the principal actor and write out what his reactions to having performed the specified action would be, then to evaluate his action and explain his position. Next he was asked to imagine that a very close friend of his own sex had committed the act and confided it to him, and to give his reactions on receipt of such a confidence. This questionnaire was followed immediately by a supplementary questionnaire asking more pointed questions. To correct for sequence effect, the questionnaires were put together in four different orders, alternating precedence of the situations and of the self and friend identification, and distributed randomly.

The loosely structured, open ended questions were felt to be best fitted to the purposes of the study. Frequent omissions of important information are inevitable with this technique. But this drawback is outweighed, in the investigator's opinion, by the possibility of observing how the respondent goes about defining a situation with a minimum of specific cues. The technique further provides a superior means for testing the applicability of alternative typologies, since it maximizes the likelihood that types of responses not anticipated by the investigator will appear.

It is not assumed that the responses are indicative of what actual behavior would be in a like situation. Since norms are more often obeyed than violated, role conceptions are generally of more importance in the control of behavior than is actual behavior after violation.

Role-playing.—Responses to the situation in which a friend had confided his participation in the actions described, and *in which the respondent disapproved of the action* in at least some important respect, were classified into six general types of roles, as follows:[2]

1. *Rejective.* These individuals would break or seriously limit the friendship following receipt of the information, but would take no other important action.

2. *Responsible.* These individuals assumed some personal responsibility for the friend's action, and would urge or insist that he make some rectification. Most commonly in the theft situation they urged that he repay the money or confess and in the sex situation that he strengthen his character and avoid similar situations in the future.

3. *Responsible assisting.* These individuals would themselves take steps to rectify the situation: they would themselves repay the stolen money or lend it to their friend, or take like steps.

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[1] 105 responses, 73 female and 32 male, were usable. Relevant portions of the questionnaire are reproduced at the end of this article.

[2] Because of the exploratory nature of this investigation, the several typologies have not been fully tested for reliability. However, a graduate assistant making independent classification of a portion of the materials showed agreement with the investigator in the great majority of cases.

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4. *Moral passive.* These individuals would render a judgment against the friend, by disapproving his action, trusting him less, etc., but would not allow the friend to know of their disapproval or make any change in their relations with him.

5. *Amoral passive.* These individuals would render no judgment of the *person* (though they disapproved in the abstract), and would make no change in their relations with him.

6. *Amoral assisting.* These individuals were preoccupied with protecting the friend from the personal consequences of the action to him. They would help him cover up his traces from the police (theft), or help him feel less guilty or escape pregnancy (sex).

Frequently combined were roles *1* and *2*, which will be called the *Responsible-Rejective* role, and *2* and *6, Responsible-Amoral assisting* role. Persons classified as *1–2* would urge moral improvement or rectification to the offender *and* withdraw or lessen friendship. Persons classified *2–6* would urge moral improvement or rectification but at the same time would seek to protect their friend from the consequences of his actions.

The majority of respondents fell into the *Rejective, Responsible,* and *Responsible-Rejective* roles in the theft situation (67 per cent) while the largest numbers (43 per cent) fell into the *Moral passive* and *Amoral assisting* roles in the sex situation (Table 1).[3]

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ROLES PLAYED IN THEFT AND SEX SITUATIONS

	Role	Theft	Sex
1	Rejective	23	14
2	Responsible	24	14
3	Responsible assisting	10	0
4	Moral passive	11	23
5	Amoral passive	1	14
6	Amoral assisting	1	20
1–2	Responsible—Rejective	21	5
2–6	Responsible—Amoral assisting	0	7
	Other combinations	11	5
	Total (Per cent)	100	100
	Total (Number)	102	87

[3] The chi-square of the difference between the distributions is considerably above that required by the .01 level of rejection.

Cross-tabulation of roles played by the same individual in the two situations indicated variation rather than similarity of roles to be the general rule. However, there was a significant tendency for the same individuals to specify the *Rejective* role in both situations, and for those who played the *Responsible-Rejective* role in the theft situation to play either the *Responsible, Rejective,* or combined role in the sex situation.[4]

Some light is shed on role-playing under the two situations by responses to a portion of the supplemental questionnaire. Respondents were asked whether they would reveal the secret entrusted to them to anyone, and whether they *ought* to tell anyone. In the sex situation all but one respondent agreed that the secret *ought* to be kept completely. In the theft situation, 43 per cent felt they *ought* to tell the authorities or the man robbed, or expressed uncertainty concerning what they ought to do. Only 4 per cent say they would actually tell, however.

In the theft situation there is a relationship between obligation to tell and the *Responsible-Rejective* role ($P < .05$) and an inverse relationship between obligation to tell and the *Responsible* roles (roles *2* and *3*; $P < .02$; Table 2). Attitude toward the secret in the *theft* situation is also associated with role-playing in the *sex* situation, the passive roles (*4* and *5*) being linked with obligation not to tell ($P < .01$).

The associations suggest that there may be two types of responsibility orientation which individuals bring to a normative situation, and which may constitute personality variables. Because of its associations with roles *2* and *1–2*, and possible association with the *Rejective* role, sense of obligation to reveal the secret may be taken as an index of "social responsibility," as contrasted to a "personal character responsibility" indicated by the *Responsible* role in the theft situation. In the first type of responsibility,

[4] The number of cases is too small to make chi-square tests of association using all categories simultaneously. Hence, associations have been tested in fourfold tables, classifying the respondents into those in a given category or group of categories and those not in this category or group. Unless otherwise indicated, all chi-square tests of association in this paper are based on such fourfold tabulation.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ROLES PLAYED IN THEFT AND SEX SITUATIONS, BY OBLIGATION TO KEEP OR REVEAL SECRET*

Role	Theft		Sex	
	Ought to tell	Ought not to tell	Ought to tell	Ought not to tell
1 Rejective	28	15	18	12
2 Responsible	11	38	15	9
3 Responsible assisting	8	9	0	0
4 Moral passive	8	11	9	35
5 Amoral passive	0	2	9	18
6 Amoral assisting	0	2	24	15
1–2 Responsible—Rejective	33	11	9	3
2–6 Responsible—Amoral assisting	0	0	12	9
Other combinations	11	13	3	0

* Obligation to keep or reveal the secret refers to the answer from the theft situation, since all but one person felt no obligation to reveal the secret in the sex situation. "Ought to tell" includes those who expressed unqualified obligation and those who recognized conflicting obligations, being unsure of which was most important.

the individual looks at his friend's action to a degree from the standpoint of society. In the second type we may hypothesize that he identifies with the friend and concerns himself with action to assuage guilt feelings. When a situation is generally defined as not having public significance, as the sex situation is by these respondents, those whose social responsibility is high appear to distribute themselves among the various active roles.

Role-taking.—Although the questionnaire nowhere asked for it, some general role *subsequent to the norm violation* was explicitly assumed by over three-quarters of the respondents in the process of stating how they would feel and act toward the friend who confided his action to them.[5] They assumed that the friend would be (a) *good,* this behavior would not be repeated, that he might be (b) *weak,* lacking powers of judgment or resisting temptation, or that he would be (c) *bad,* that similar acts would recur. Some made their role (d) *conditional,* specifying what they would do dependent upon the alternative general roles of the friend.

The difference between the two situations

[5] The use of "role-taking" vis-a-vis "role-playing" in this paper follows that suggested by Walter Coutu in "Role-Playing vs. Role-Taking," *American Sociological Review,* 16 (1951), 180–187. An implication of the present study is that the degree to which an individual *elaborates* the role taken is an important variable for investigation.

(Table 3) consists in a greater tendency to assume that the friend is *good* or merely *weak* in the sex situation and less tendency to assume that the act will be characteristic behavior than in the theft situation (P<.01). More respondents who disapproved of the actions[6] were able to visualize a friend of sound moral character having a promiscuous sex relation than stealing five hundred dollars.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL ROLES ASSUMED IN THEFT AND SEX SITUATIONS

Role assumed	Theft	Sex
a. Good	30	39
b. Weak	7	14
c. Bad	23	10
d. Conditional	18	17
e. None explicit	23	20
Total (Per cent)	100	100
Total (Number)	102	83

There are no significant associations between the kinds of roles that the same individual assumes in the two situations.

The type of role taken is related to the role played, however. As summarized in

[6] Only persons disapproving the action are included, throughout this paper. If the twenty-two who saw nothing wrong with the sex act had been included, the numbers making *no assumption* and assuming the friend was *good* would be increased.

Table 4, the passive roles (*4* and *5*) go with the assumption that the friend is *good* or *no assumption* in both situations, the *Rejective* role is associated with the assumption of *bad* in the theft situation and *bad* or *conditional* in the sex situation, the *Respon-*

From the preceding observations,[7] there is some reason to hypothesize that, *in a first reaction to such situations*, causality flows principally from role played to role taken, rather than in the reverse direction. A hypothesis may be formulated that the indi-

TABLE 4. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN ROLE PLAYED AND ROLE ASSUMED IN THEFT AND SEX SITUATIONS, BY PERCENTAGES*

Role Played	General Role Assumed			
	Good	Bad	Conditional	No Assumption
		Theft		
1 Rejective		$^{65}\!/_{65}$		
2 and 3 Responsible	$^{79}\!/_{66}$			
1–2 Responsible—Rejective			$^{72}\!/_{52}$	
4 Moral passive	$^{21}\!/_{50}$			$^{21}\!/_{33}$
		Sex		
1 Rejective (and combinations 1–2, 1–4, 1–6)		$^{63}\!/_{25}$	$^{93}\!/_{65}$	
4 and 5 Passive	$^{42}\!/_{42}$			$^{76}\!/_{42}$
6 Amoral assisting	$^{38}\!/_{79}$			

* For the sake of clarity, only important associations are presented. In each cell, the number above the diagonal is the per cent of persons making the specified role assumption about their friend who plays the specified role. Below the diagonal is the per cent of persons playing the specified role who make the specified assumption regarding the friend's role.

sible roles (*2* and *3*) go with *good* in the theft situation, the *Responsible-Rejective* combination goes with the *conditional* attitude in the theft situation, and the *Amoral assisting* role goes with *good* in the sex situation. Since approximately half of the cases in both situations fall into the combinations enumerated, moral judgments might be best described in terms of "role complements," or pairs of "judge" and "judged" roles.

Attitude toward keeping the secret, again used as an index of "social responsibility" orientation, is significantly associated with role-taking as follows: obligation to reveal the secret in the theft situation is associated with the *conditional* attitude ($P<.01$); obligation not to tell is associated with the assumption of *good* in the theft situation ($P<.01$) and *no assumption* in the sex situation ($P<.02$).

vidual has a generalized tendency to follow a given role-playing pattern in different situations, and that the assumption regarding the role of the other serves to clarify the situation consistently with this pre-existing tendency. A finding that role-playing and role-taking are associated, while roles *played* by an individual in the two situations are more highly correlated than are roles *taken*, appears to be consistent with this hypothesis.

Some of the observations indicate, however, that causality may sometimes flow in the opposite direction. Several respondents made statements such as the following: "Since this is my close friend, I know he could only have done this thing under most extreme and unusual stress." It appears

[7] The personal constancy of role-playing but not of role-taking and associations with attitude toward the secret are the observations referred to.

likely that the causal primacy of role-playing or role-taking is determined by the adequacy of the cues for assuming the role of the other and the way in which the relationship between the judge and judged is conceived.

The *conditional* and *no assumption* categories deserve special attention. It may be hypothesized that a high degree of "social responsibility" orientation inhibits a straightforward assumption regarding the general role of the other, in normative situations, but requires that the individual retain a somewhat detached attitude of waiting to see the direction in which the friend will go.[8] The *no assumption* category, as presented here, probably includes several who made assumptions but did not write them down, as well as those who were able to define their role without assuming any for the friend.[9] However, the associations suggest that those who feel no responsibility to act have less disposition to attempt to fit the reported behavior into a picture of the general character of the friend. Furthermore the *no assumptions* are considerably more randomly distributed with respect to roles played in the theft than in the sex situation, though most other categories are *less* randomly distributed. As indicated subsequently in this paper, there is considerably more imperative to some kind of morally relevant action in the case of the theft than of the sex incident. It may be, then, that when the imperative is especially strong, the action to be taken is rather directly indicated and the stage of elaborated role-taking "short-circuited."

Friendship norms.—About half the responses included statements about friendship, presented as if intended to be generalizations applicable to any friendly relationship. These statements fell into two general

categories, those which imposed some responsibility for tolerance or assistance on the person receiving such a confidence, and those which made the normative violation in some way burdensome to the individual to whom it was revealed. Among the latter some felt a shared personal guilt, some felt the friend had violated the code of friendship, and some feared the friend might wrong them as he had someone else. *All* references to this second group of friendship stipulations were made by persons assuming the *Rejective* role, or some combination including it.[10] The *Rejective* role, to some degree a personal constant between the two situations, is associated with a rather personal involvement in the consequences of another's misdeeds in the present context.

Though numbers become too small for tests of significance, there appear to be fewer references to the first type of norm in the *Rejective* than in the combined *Rejective-Responsible* role, and more references to the first type of norm in both roles by those whose role-taking was *conditional* than in other categories. If the relations suggested are more than an artifact of chance, the *Responsible-Rejective* combination and the *conditional* attitude in role-taking may be partly functions of a conflict between the pattern of moral implication in another's acts and the norms governing an individual's responsibility to a friend in trouble. In the latter instance, the conflict prevents the individual from making a definite assumption about the other's character until further actions allow one type of norm to predominate.

Self-behavior.—The way in which the norm violation is conceived is the remaining variable for examination. The behavior which the individual thinks he would engage in if he had committed the offense and the ideology of disapproval will be used to assay the individual's conception of the norm violation.

The behavior which individuals said they would exhibit if they had themselves committed the acts described was classified into

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[8] The association of obligations to tell with the *conditional* attitude appears in the sex situation as in the theft, but is not statistically significant in the former.

[9] A more directive questionnaire would probably have forced each respondent to make some assumption about the generalized role of the friend. Consequently it would have prevented exploration of the possibility that an individual *may* define the situation adequately from his own point of view without elaborating upon the specific situational role presented.

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[10] The association of this category of definitions of the friendship relation is significant at the .01 level for the theft situation. Indications are that it applies to the sex incident as well, though numbers are too small for a test of significance.

five types, which together constitute a sort of continuum of degree of adjustive behavior. The types are as follows: 1. *Self-punishment and expiation,* consisting of behavior in excess of that necessary to correct the external consequences of the norm-violation, such as confession to authorities, giving up one's social contacts or otherwise changing one's mode of life, or seeking forgiveness from an authority; 2. *Rectification,* including behavior to right the wrong, such as paying back the money, concerning oneself about the welfare of the sex partner or considering marriage to the partner in the sex incident; 3. *Moral improvement,* consisting of determining never to do the same thing again, to avoid temptations, to "elevate" oneself; 4. *Amoral adjustment,* including trying to forget, to rationalize, and the like; and 5. *Avoidance of consequences,* involving efforts to escape detection, venereal disease, etc. The last two categories were grouped together for most analysis. Each case was assigned to the type involving the most extreme behavior indicated.

In addition to the more extreme behavior called for by the theft situation (Table 5),[11] the absence of *moral improvement* without accompanying rectification or expiatory behavior in the theft situation contrasts with *moral improvement* alone as the modal type in the sex situation. The sex offense is more often regarded as an act that cannot be made right by any act of the person than is the theft act, which may in part account for the higher prevalence of passive roles in relation to a friend who has committed the act.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF SELF-ADJUSTIVE BEHAVIOR FOR THEFT AND SEX SITUATIONS

Behavior type	Theft	Sex
1. Self-punishment and expiation	46	20
2. Rectification	37	13
3. Moral improvement	0	33
4. Amoral adjustment	6	22
5. Avoidance of consequences	11	12
Total (Per cent)	100	100
Total (Number)	95	76

[11] Chi-square for the difference between the distributions yields a P of less than .01.

This observation is confirmed by significant associations between the *Responsible* roles (2 and 3) and combinations, taken together (in the case of friend as offender), and *Self-punishment* and *Rectification,* taken together (in the case of self as offender) (P<.02) and between the *Rejective* roles and combinations and *Self-punishment* (P<.05) in the theft situation. In the sex situation there are associations between both passive roles together (4 and 5) and the amoral behavior types (P<.01), and between the *Responsible* and *Rejective* roles and combinations taken together and *Self-punishment* behavior (P<.01).

When self-behavior of individuals in the two situations is cross-tabulated, no significant associations emerge.

In the theft situation there are no significant associations between self-behavior and role-taking, but there are some in the sex situation. Moral improvement is associated with the conditional attitude (P<.01) and *Rectification* and *Self-punishment* together are negatively associated with *no assumption* (P<.05).

Ideological reference.—The ways in which disapproval of an act was justified by the respondent have been classified into types of "ideological reference." Disapproval was justified in terms of some harm done to an injured person, disruptive consequences to the social order, or the moral character of a person who would perform such an act. Some persons simply reiterated disapproval of the act itself without such additional references, and some stated that, while the act was wrong, it was wrong only in terms of the personal standards of each individual or the consequences to the individual performing the act.

The situations differ (Table 6) with respect to a high incidence of *personal standards* reference in the sex situation.[12] It can be shown that this may constitute an explanation of greater tolerance in the sex situation beyond the fact that the sex situation does not call for positive adjustive action to the degree that the theft situation

[12] Though the total distributions differ significantly by the chi-square test (P<.01), there is no significant difference when the "personal standards" category is omitted.

does. When only those persons who, viewing themselves as the violators, would take an equal or more extreme type of adjustive behavior in the sex than in the theft situation are considered, there is still a significantly greater frequency of passive and amoral roles (with the friend as violator) in the sex situation (P<.01). The greater unwillingness to treat theft as a personal matter may also have something to do with the lesser correlation between self-behavior and both role-playing and role-taking in the theft than in the sex situation.

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF IDEOLOGICAL REFERENCE FOR THEFT AND SEX SITUATIONS*

Type of Ideological Reference	Theft	Sex
Personal standard and consequences	0	26
Act alone	40	44
Character of actor	32	18
Consequences to injured person	30	18
Consequences for social order	11	5
Total (Number)	102	87
Percent of all respondents not expressing clear disapproval	3	17

* Figures are the per cent of all persons *disapproving* who made a specified ideological reference. Since some made more than one type of reference, figures total more than 100 per cent.

Ideological references by the same individual in the two situations seem not to be related, except in one respect. Those who indicated consequences to the injured person and consequences for the social order in the theft situation are more likely than others to define the sex situation as a matter of personal standards (P<.05). Conceivably, a somewhat relativistic orientation toward moral standards may be expressed in these two divergent ways because of the differing cultural contexts of the two types of norms. In reference to a norm violation like theft, regarding which nearly everyone upon direct questioning could make a statement of its harm to individuals and society, failure to refer disapproval beyond the act itself may be a way of denying the relativity implied in admitting that the wrongness of the act varies with its consequences. In reference to sex, regarding which most people cannot make cogent statements of its consequences

to others than the actors, the expression of such consequences may reflect a more serious concern about such acts. Some support for this view comes from the association between the *act only*, as reference, and *self-punishment* behavior in the theft situation (P<.01), contrasted with an association between *personal standards* and the *act only*, taken together, and *amoral adjustment* and *avoidance of consequences*, taken together, (P<.05) for the sex incident.

Associations between ideological reference and role-playing are limited. Reference to the *act only* and to the *character of the actor*, taken together, go with the *Rejective* role (P<.01) in the theft situation. The *Rejective* role in the sex situation goes with references to *character, consequences to the injured person*, and *consequences to social order*, taken together (P<.05). *Amoral assistance* goes with reference to the *act alone* and *personal standards* taken together (P<.02) in the sex incident. While reference to the act *alone* and to *character* are associated with the *rejective* role in theft, they are respectively negatively and positively associated with the role-taking pattern of assuming the violator is *bad* (P<.02). No associations with role-taking appear in the sex situation.

In summary, a typology of role-playing in relation to a friend who has violated a moral norm has been presented, and it has been shown to be associated in some respects with patterns of role-taking, views of the friendship relation, and the individual's view of the norm. There is some suggestion of personality types reflected in the roles, including individuals who feel personally implicated in the misdeeds of others, individuals with high "social responsibility" orientation, and moralistic individuals with high personal loyalty. Besides being fitted into a framework of the theory of an act, the comparison of theft and sex violation provides some information relevant to a typology of moral norms. Conclusions may apply only within a college culture, and are all to be regarded as tentative, because of the sample, the method of securing data, and the exploratory nature of classification. The principal function of the paper should be to suggest a mode of approach to these phenomena.

The following are the two situations used in the study:

"A" and a friend, "B," have been in an automobile accident which resulted in some damage to the property of another person. "A" appears to be liable for the damage and, having no insurance, is likely to be in serious difficulty if the money cannot be produced immediately. The injured party is further threatening to file a criminal complaint against "A" if not paid promptly. Neither "A" nor "B" has any personal or family financial resources beyond the bare minimum required for livelihood. Entirely by chance, "A" and "B" discover that a certain man, about whom they know nothing else, keeps a large sum of money hidden in his garage. The suggestion to steal this money, made first in jest, becomes more serious as "A" and "B" discuss it. Impressed by the hopelessness of "A's" position, "A" and "B" decide to go together to take the money. The money, amounting to $500, is taken successfully and without detection. "A" immediately pays off the liability, amounting to about $400, and the remaining money is split evenly between the two of them.

"A," while stopping over briefly in a city some distance from home, secures a blind date with "B." The date is arranged by a remote acquaintance of "A." It turns out that "B" is also only temporarily passing through the city. "B" is a member of a respected family, is engaged, and is personally rather more attractive than average. The two go to a local night club together, but discover after they arrive that the place is frequented by a good many persons with obviously illicit sexual purposes. After some initial discomfort over the nature of the surroundings, "A" and "B" find that with the music and dancing and drinks they are beginning to enjoy themselves. After an hour or two their feelings become distinctly amorous, and their emotions are aroused to such a pitch that they leave and go together to a hotel room, where they register under an assumed name. Here they engage in complete sex relations and spend the night. The following morning they leave, each going back to his own home city.

The following are the questions from which the materials referred to in this paper were drawn. Order of presentation of the questions was varied to correct for sequence effect. Each paragraph was on a separate sheet of paper.

Now picture yourself as "A." You have acted exactly in the manner described. Thinking of yourself as having just done this, what do you think your immediate reactions would be? Especially how would you *feel?* What would your emotions be? Characterize them as fully as possible. Then, what would you *do?* What immediate actions would you take, if any? What changes would be made in your usual behavior immediately? What changes would occur over a longer period?

Now describe what you think about this action. Does it receive in general your approval or disapproval? Or do you have a qualified or mixed evaluation? Explain your statement. Indicate why you think as you do.

Now picture a close friend of yours, of your own sex, as "A." Try to think in terms of a concrete person whom you consider about your closest friend. This friend, "A," has related the entire event to you in strict confidence. Describe as fully as possible what you think your immediate reactions to this information would be. Especially, how would you *feel* about "A" and toward "A"? What would your emotions be? Characterize them as fully as possible. Then, what would you do? What immediate actions would you take, if any? What changes would be made in your usual behavior toward "A" immediately? What changes would occur over a longer period?

The following are the questions from the supplemental questionnaire from which data were drawn for this paper.

Now, would you, as a consequence of "A's" revelation to you attempt to make any changes in your relationship with "A"? What changes would you make? How would you act differently toward "A" than you had before? Would you continue to associate with "A" in public as before? Would you continue to *trust* "A" as a close friend? Explain why you would act the way you have indicated. Explain why you would or would not trust your friend.

What would you do with the secret entrusted to you? Do you think you would keep it entirely? Do you think you would tell it to anyone at all? To whom would you tell it? Why? Besides what you think you *would* do, what do you think you *ought* to do? Should you keep it entirely secret? Or do you think there is anyone you *ought* to tell it to?

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SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY: WORK IN PROGRESS *

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The books, papers, studies, and investigations currently nearing completion in the field of sociological theory exhibit an impressive range. The heterogeneity of these studies introduces special difficulties into their classification. In spite of certain deficiencies in taxonomic rigor, we shall present them in the following categories: (1) General Sociological Theory, (2) The History of Sociology, (3) Historical Sociology, (4) Methodology, (5) The Sociology of Knowledge, (6) Political Sociology, (7) Value Studies, and (8) Social Control. Finally, unable to classify further, we conclude with the category (9) Miscellaneous. This classification itself will be disregarded to the extent that, with one exception, we shall include all of an individual's reported current work at the first mention of his name.

The amount of space devoted to a single writer or work is not necessarily commensurate with the probable merit of the contribution. It happens inevitably in a survey of this kind that information is more detailed on some projects than on others. In addition, certain theorists, for example Robert K. Merton, are wholly unrepresented in the list which follows. We should like to express our apologies in advance to those authors who believe that their projects could more appropriately be listed under a different category than the one under which they appear, and plead exemption again on the ground of insufficient information.

1. *General Sociological Theory.* A number of significant works in this central area are sched-

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* Editor's note: This review and the following one by Neal Gross are based largely upon reports received in 1950 and 1951 from members of the American Sociological Society who participated in its Annual Census of Research. Reviews of research in other fields of sociology are being arranged by the Committee on Research of the Society, under the chairmanship of Raymond F. Sletto. The original draft by Professor Bierstedt has been severely shortened by two editors in separate efforts. Omissions are therefore not to be attributed to his negligence.

uled for early publication. First to be discussed are two systematic treatises associated with the name of Talcott Parsons (Harvard). The former of the two, published by the Harvard University Press, is entitled *Toward a General Theory of Action.* This is a collaborative volume written by nine social scientists. It includes (1) a general statement of fundamental categories on which these contributors agree, a statement which attempts, in more than programmatic fashion, to assess and to organize the major ideas within the most controversial areas in contemporary social science; (2) a monograph by Parsons and Edward Shils (Chicago) which elaborates the general scheme; (3) monographs by E. C. Tolman and Richard Sheldon contributing points of view from psychology and social anthropology respectively, and (4) additional essays by G. W. Allport, Clyde Kluckhohn, H. A. Murray, and S. A. Stouffer. Parson's paper, written in collaboration with Shils, is entitled "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action." The entire enterprise constitutes a kind of "stock-taking" of present and probable future theoretical positions in the fields represented by the Harvard Department of Social Relations.

Parsons is the sole author of *The Social System,* a book recently published by the Free Press. This promises to make a substantial advance over Parson's previous work, especially that in *The Structure of Social Action.* It seeks, first of all, to clarify the relations between cultural systems and social systems—a clarification intended to resolve, at least in part, the problems associated with the classification of cultural forms. A new concept of "pattern variables" will play an important role in the accomplishment of this task. Secondly, it will permit more rigorous analysis of the problem of motivation in social systems, particularly with respect to socialization and to deviation. There is every reason to suspect that both of these books, the collaborative volume and the one by Parsons alone, will beat promising paths in the wilderness which lies between present formulations and the goals which all sociologists seek to attain. Edward Shils also has a separate volume in preparation entitled "The Primary Group" and also scheduled for publication by the Free Press. Finally, Parsons, in collaboration with S. A. Stouffer (Harvard) and Florence Kluckhohn (Harvard), is doing a study of social

mobility orientations of high school boys—this will probably be reported in greater detail in another place.

Florian Znaniecki (Emeritus, Illinois), has two major works whose publication is imminent. The first of these, to be published in February by the University of Illinois Press, is entitled *Cultural Sciences: Their Origin and Development.* This will survey the historical evolution of scientific theories of culture and will trace the emergence of these theories from two principal sources—philosophical doctrines and practical generalizations. It will maintain a distinction between the scientific approach to natural phenomena and to cultural phenomena and will indicate how the cultural sciences gradually became specialized disciplines. It will conclude with an analysis of the present function of sociology as the basic cultural science.

Znaniecki's second major work, to be published also by the University of Illinois Press, is entitled *Modern Nationalities: A Sociological Study.* In this volume he distinguishes nationalities, which have a secular literary culture, from (1) political societies, which are territorially circumscribed and have a monopoly of physical force and (2) ecclesiastical societies, which are based upon a common sacred culture.

A third major work by Znaniecki, now in preparation, is tentatively entitled "The Principles of Sociology." It is not, however, planned as a textbook. It will present the science of sociology as the science of axionormatively ordered dynamic social systems, together with their causal and genetic changes and their functional differentiation and integration. Four categories of these systems are differentiated by size and complexity: (1) systems of social actions between two individuals, usually called "social relations"; (2) systems of social roles, as between a single individual and a number of other persons; (3) social groups or associations, as systems of social roles; and (4) societies, as systems of social groups.

Two current papers of Professor Znaniecki also require mention. The first of these, in *Educational Theory* (August, 1951), makes a distinction between the theoretical discipline of a sociology of education and the applied discipline of educational sociology. The second, to be published elsewhere, is a brief essay on the sociology of knowledge. Other sociologists are preparing major systematic works. J. O. Hertzler (Nebraska) is writing an analysis of social processes. He will include a critical account of past and present treatments of this subject and will attempt a systematic categorization and definition of the processes involved in modern industrialized, urbanized society, using a structural-functional frame of

reference. Samuel M. Strong (Carleton) is seeking to define the basic human nature which is independent of culture and is dealing, in addition, with the theoretical implications of the differences between human nature on the one hand and culture on the other. James W. Woodard (Temple) promises, but not soon, his long-awaited book on systematic social theory. It will be principally concerned with: (1) the "anatomy" of culture, (2) the dynamics of sociocultural evolution, (3) an integration of sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and psychiatry, and (4) the underlying rationale of the functional approach, especially in its non-quantitative aspects. Howard Odum (North Carolina) has two large projects under way, one inquiring into "The Technicways of Modern Man," which deals with measures of social change in a technological civilization, and the other attempting to define transitional society as "folk society" changing from folk culture to state civilization.

Howard Becker (Wisconsin) is currently drawing out the theoretical implications of several substantive studies and building on the foundations laid in his recent *Through Values to Social Interpretation.* The first of these studies, a long-term project, will be called "Mind on the Looms of Greece." This work will have solid relevance not only to general sociological theory but also to the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of religion, and the sociological analysis of historical change. The second project, in which Frances Bennett Becker will collaborate, is a study of social change in Hessian villages and is tentatively entitled "Yesterday's Hessians Today." The third, a study of British regions, will probably be published in article form and will contain a critique of some aspects of what is currently called "functionalism." Professor Becker is also planning a revision of his *German Youth: Bond or Free,* which will make the sociological theory more explicit.

Kurt Wolff (Ohio State), author of a recent book on Simmel, is engaged on a project which will develop and demonstrate a new conception of sociological theory and research. Scheduled for completion by the end of 1951, it proceeds from an empirical foundation laid in a continuing study of the Loma culture, parts of which have already appeared as periodical articles. Wolff will also translate more of Simmel for publication by the Free Pess and continues to pursue historical and theoretical research in the sociology of knowledge.

Read Bain (Miami) has developed a theory of communication as the basic factor in society and is considering the manner in which it affects the definition of both sociological and

social problems. The five topics which will appear most prominently in his treatment are reading and writing, art and science, mind and body, race and class, and war and peace.

Theodore Abel (Hunter, Columbia) has also been engaged for some time in the preparation of a general, systematic, sociological theory. The details of this project are unknown at present and there is no scheduled completion date. Abel is also working on a sociological analysis of the concentration camp.

2. *The History of Sociology.* Pitirim A. Sorokin (Harvard) is preparing a revision of his *Contemporary Sociological Theories.* Meanwhile, he continues his studies of altruism and of creative integration.

Howard Becker and H. E. Barnes are revising and expanding *Social Thought from Lore to Science,* with publication scheduled for 1952.

Gladys Bryson (Smith), author of *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the 18th Century,* is writing a book on early systematic sociology in the United States, a book which will dwell particularly upon the work of Ward, Giddings, Sumner, Small, Cooley, and Ross. Publication, by the Free Press, may be expected at an early date.

Joseph B. Gittler (Iowa State) and Ernest Manheim (Kansas City) are collaborating on a systematic and analytic treatment of major schools in contemporary sociological theory, entitled "Theoretical Systems in Contemporary Sociology." Gittler, in addition, is independently engaged in a study of Morris R. Cohen's contributions to sociological theory. Manheim is translating, editing, and re-writing another posthumous publication of Karl Mannheim entitled "Man and Society." John C. McKinney (Michigan State) is planning an attempt to synthesize the methodological and substantive theories of George Herbert Mead, George A. Lundberg, and Talcott Parsons.

Mario Lins (Brazil) is working on a comprehensive study of sociology in Latin America in three parts: (1) the present status of sociological theory; (2) perspectives on the integration of theory and research; and (3) reflections on the "crisis" in systematic sociology.

Individual sociologists are receiving specific attention at the hands of various writers. John E. Owen (Ohio), for example, will do a biographical and critical study of Charles A. Ellwood, as will also Bruce Whitaker (Belmont College). Gordon H. Barker (Colorado) will revise Arthur J. Todd's *Theories of Social Progress* and include new chapters on the present status of this concept. The sociological theory of Veblen will be given separate treatments by David Riesman (Chicago) and Paul W. Cummings (Pittsburgh). The theories of

Gumplowicz will be analyzed by Harold Hadley Story (Los Angeles City Schools) in connection with translations of two of his books. William C. Lehmann plans a study of John Millar, 18th century Scottish sociologist, and Robert B. Notestein (Wisconsin) will study William Graham Sumner as a contributor to the sociology of knowledge. Marvin Bressler (Pennsylvania) will attempt to finish an incomplete study of W. I. Thomas and another Chicago sociologist, Robert E. Park, will be treated biographically and analytically by Theodore K. Noss (Adelphi). Sigmund Freud will be viewed as a sociologist by Fritz Schmidl (VA Mental Hygiene Clinic, Seattle), and Mrs. Gisela J. Hinkle will study the introduction and diffusion of Freudian theories in American sociology from 1909 to 1935. Paul Meadows (Nebraska) promises a work on the social theory of John Wesley Powell. Paul C. Kochan (Baker) will begin with Plato and make a comparative study of the frames of reference of the precursors of sociology, and Raymon C. Forston (Indiana) is working on "English Puritan Social Thought, 1559–1662." Eva J. Ross (Trinity) will produce a history of Western social thought. C. Wright Mills (Columbia) and Hans Gerth (Wisconsin), collaborating again, will attempt an integration of the systems of Marx, Mead, Weber, and Freud under the title "Character and Social Structure."

3. *Historical Sociology.* Under this category we find both general and special sociological analyses of historical phenomena. George Cary White (Randolph-Macon) is working on "Immigration and American Culture; A Survey of Social Thought and Public Opinion, 1882–1914." Fred R. Yoder (State College of Washington) is studying the Populist movement in his state and Jason F. Lane (UCLA) is interested in the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party. "The Chinese Institutional System Since 1900" will receive the attention of Samuel H. Leger (George Pepperdine College). William C. Lawton (Chicago), building upon theoretical foundations laid by Robert K. Merton, will offer "The Collectivist Movement in American Business Institutions: The Operational Characteristics of *Anomie.*" John Sirjamaki (Yale) has planned a long-term, two-volume analysis of modern American life from the institutional point of view. American culture patterns are being analyzed by Ina Telberg (United Nations) in terms of the adjustment patterns of recent immigrants trained in the social and psychological sciences.

S. C. Gilfillan (Chicago) is preparing an expanded revision of his *Sociology of Invention,* and is continuing his studies of technological change.

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4. *Methodology.* Methodological studies are more diversified than the others. George A. Lundberg (Washington) has joined a number of other professors in fields ranging from mathematics to law in the organization of a Committee for Social Physics. This Committee, which has a three-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, is conducting conferences and research under the general direction of John Q. Stewart, an astronomical physicist at Princeton.

Stuart C. Dodd (Washington), also a member of this Committee, continues to communicate and to develop the contents of his *Dimensions of Society* and his *Systematic Social Science*. Of a large number of papers, both methodological and substantive, scheduled for early publication, the following merit attention: "Dimensional Analysis in Social Physics" (a theory of demographic gravitation), "On Classifying Human Values" (recently published in the *American Sociological Review*), "Testing Message Diffusion from Person to Person" (to be published in *Public Opinion Quarterly*), two papers under the title of "Project Revere" testing the interactance hypothesis and attempting to formulate laws of mass communication, and two papers on semantics, "Model English" and "TILP—A Ten Letter Alphabet of Meanings" (to be published in the *Proceedings* of the International Society for General Semantics).

The current inquiries of William L. Kolb (Tulane) are also methodological or axiological in character. He is concerned with the values which motivate research in sociology, particularly in its applied fields of social pathology, industrial sociology, and family sociology. "Is there anything in basic sociological theory," he asks, "which, when used for the development of applied disciplines, results in an anti-democratic orientation?" He believes that there is, and that some current concepts force sociologists to deny at the level of scientific theory the facts which are necessary for the ultimate survival of democratic values. Kolb has already published several papers dealing with this problem and has planned three or four more.

Reinhard Bendix (California), author of a recent essay *Social Science and the Distrust of Reason,* is now at work on three papers whose implications are methodological, substantive, and axiological as well: (1) "Theoretical Implications of Industrial Sociology," (2) "Psychological and Sociological Modes of Analysis," and (3) a longer essay dealing with theories of social stratification. George Homans (Harvard) is also using industrial studies to develop further the theoretical formulations in his *The Human Group.*

Other studies of a methodological character are those of Robert Sokol (Columbia), who is examining the concepts "acculturation" and "assimilation" with a view to developing statistical indices for their measurement, and Armand G. Winfield (Washington University), who will test Redfield's acculturation hypothesis in a study of two Missouri communities. Chester A. Jurczak (College of New Rochelle) is studying the emergence and development of the concept of culture itself. Joseph A. Cavanaugh is testing Dodd's interactance hypothesis by applying it to the attendance at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society. James E. Fleming (Kent State) and B. Robert Clark (UCLA) are trying, independently, to construct a model for institutional analysis, and Paul Lasakow (Northwestern) is looking for the universal assumptions, if any, which underlie group theory in sociology.

E. K. Francis (Notre Dame) is working on a systematic frame of reference for all of the phenomena customarily called nation, nationality, people, race, minority, and so on. He will relate sociological to historical and philosophic inquiry in this field and attempt to standardize concepts and to supply scientific tools for the treatment of minorities, colonial peoples, and the organization of a world community.

An attempt to rebuild the theoretical framework within which leadership studies are conducted is the task which Philip J. Allen (Virginia) has set for himself. Alvin Boskoff (Drake) is interested in doing somewhat the same sort of job with respect to the theory of social planning. Melvin Tumin (Princeton) is seeking what he aptly calls "researchable propositions" in the theory of stratification and will attempt in addition to construct a general framework for studies of morale. Finally, William Wright Paul (Shelton College) plans to work out criteria for the evaluation of historical data.

5. *The Sociology of Knowledge.* Franz Adler (Arkansas) is using curvilinear correlations to discover relationships between general characteristics of historical periods on the one hand and the types of epistemological theory which emerge from them on the other. Daniel Lerner (Stanford, Columbia) is aiming at a general theory of knowledge and opinion in terms of a theory of power—a project which has special reference to the manipulation of symbols. He will in addition make a comparative study of political decision-making in eight countries. Dinko Tomasic (Indiana) is studying the dynamics of structural change in terms of personality, ideology, and power. Another continuing study of ideologies, this time of

business ideologies, is the work of F. X. Sutton (Harvard).

Related also to the sociology of knowledge are Norman F. Washburne's (Puget Sound) use of Karl Mannheim's constructs to investigate the role of the intellectual in American radicalism, Eva Dreikurs Ferguson's (Illinois, Melbourne) honors thesis on Mannheim, and Maurice J. Karpf's (Los Angeles College of Jewish Studies) inquiry into the social role of the expert.

6. *Political Sociology.* Political sociology, the sociology of social movements, and the theory of social conflict are somewhat loosely but conveniently grouped together here. In this field it is appropriate to mention first the recently published *Social Movements,* by Rudolf Heberle (Louisiana State). This is a systematic treatise on the ideology, psychology, social foundations, ecology, organization, tactics, and functions of social movements and political parties. Warner E. Gettys (Texas) is also working on a systematic approach to social movements and their implications for social change. Similarly, J. Howell Atwood (Knox) is attempting to discover if the natural history and pattern of sectarian religious movements resembles that discernible in political movements.

Robert S. Lynd (Columbia) is working on a book on power, a concept which he regards as "the great forgotten '*x*' in the intellectual propositions by which liberal society operates" and as a crucial concept for any theory of social change.

Bernice Antoville Kaplan is studying the social effect of returned Mexican migrants upon their community of origin. David F. Aberle (Johns Hopkins) is considering the peyote cult among the Navaho Indians as a social movement. The sociology of dissent, as seen in agrarian protest movements in Iowa, is the subject on which Muni Frumhartz (Grinnell) is currently engaged.

"The Sociology of Conflict" is the title of a study in preparation by Lewis A. Coser (Columbia). Tension and conflict together are attracting the attention of James T. Wiley, Jr. (Emory) and of James Laulicht (Kentucky). The former will treat several situations of conflict between theory and practice, as, for example, in Negro-white relations, and the latter promises a conceptual analysis and critical evaluation of various theories in this field. Jay Rumney (Rutgers) plans an examination of the existing literature on the sociology of war. Herbert E. Krugman (Yale) will interview ex-Communists and psychiatrists who have had Communists as patients in order to determine the basis of the Communist appeal, and Willis A. Sutton, Jr. (Emory) will study the appeal

which Talmadge has for the voters of Georgia. Vincent H. Whitney (Brown), in collaboration with Walter Isard (Harvard), is writing a book to be called "Atomic Power: An Economic and Social Analysis." Finally, Arnold Rose (Minnesota) has two projects in this area, one a study of political participation, awareness, and responsibility in a community and the other an attempt to measure responsibility toward communities as it is influenced by cohesiveness within sub-groups.

7. *Value Studies.* Henrik F. Infield (Group Farming Research Institute) has scheduled a project on "The Field and the Methods of a Sociology of Cooperation." Ralph H. Turner (UCLA) is working out a typology of moral judgments to be correlated with role relationships between judges and persons judged. Walter Goldschmidt (UCLA) has a continuing project on "Ethics and the Structure of Society," in which he is doing a comparative analysis of a primitive cultural system which reflects some of the ideological characteristics of Western civilization. A part of this latter study is now in press and will appear in the *American Anthropologist.* Evon Z. Vogt (Harvard), with others on the staff of the Laboratory of Social Relations, is at work on a comparative study of values in five cultures. Paul W. Massing (Rutgers) is investigating private and public conscience in a German community.

8. *Social Control.* Two general works in this area may be anticipated in the near future, one by Richard T. LaPiere (Stanford) and the other by Thomas D. Eliot (Northwestern). LaPiere, in addition, is using present materials on military morale as a test of Durkheim's theory of social solidarity. Ellsworth Faris (Emeritus, Chicago) is inquiring into the methods of discipline used in both civilized and pre-literate societies in a project which carries the title, "Discipline Without Punishment." The title of a project by Eric Barnitz (Fairmont State College) is "Relations of Norms and Behavior." The sociology of law is the subject of a book now being written by Dr. Luis Recaséns-Siches (National University of Mexico).

9. *Miscellaneous.* Ralph S. Holloway (Iowa), in his "Sociological Theory and Analysis of the Self," will attempt to devise techniques for the measurement of self-attitudes. Samuel Z. Klausner (Teachers College) is engaged in an effort to determine the relation between certain socio-economic factors and the self-concept. Irwin D. Rinder (Chicago) is doing research on "Personality and Marginality," and Paul C. P. Siu is using the Chinese laundryman as an example of "the sojourner," one who clings to his own cultural heritage in spite of long residence in a foreign society. Margaret

M. Wood (Mississippi State College for Women), author of *The Stranger,* has scheduled for publication this year by the Columbia University Press a book entitled "The Uncompanion'd Way," a study of the isolating processes in modern society and their effects upon the isolated individual.

The American Symphony Orchestra: A Social History of Musical Taste, by John H. Mueller (Indiana) was recently published by the University of Indiana Press. Max Kaplan (Illinois), building upon Znaniecki's role-theory, has just completed an analysis of the social role of the musician in American society. Joseph H. Bunzel is advancing some theses with respect to the theater as a social institution and as an instrument of social control.

Roscoe Giffin (Berea) calls his project "A Socio-Economic Survey of the Population of Several Related Remote Kentucky Mountain Valleys," a study which has relevance to a theory of social change, and Irving Crespi (Harper College, State University of New York) is doing a functional analysis of social card-playing as a leisure time activity and as it is related to the social life of a community. Robert J. Dubois (Wayne) has just completed a comparative analysis of the theories of social groups in American textbooks, and F. Eugene Heilman (Nebraska) has done a historical and analytical thesis on theories of social disorganization. Finally, a study in a new field of sociological inquiry, the sociology of sport, is planned by Charles H. Page (Smith) who continues, meanwhile, his studies of bureaucracy and of social stratification.

REVIEW OF CURRENT RESEARCH ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE*

NEAL GROSS

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The field of the sociology of rural life is under critical examination at the present time. Over thirty subcommittees of the Rural Sociological Society are appraising past research in specific problem areas and will make recommendations for the systematic and orderly development of these areas.[1] In addition, a critical methodological appraisal of published rural sociological research in 1950 has recently been completed.[2] The more limited purpose of this review is to describe the kinds of problems that rural sociologists report they are currently investigating.[3]

Two kinds of information were utilized in the preparation of this review of current research in rural sociology: (1) The Annual Census of Research of the American Sociological Society and (2) the replies to a questionnaire[4] sent to fifty-four academic departments and government agencies in which it was judged that research might be in progress. It was decided to secure this second kind of information when a perusal of the projects in rural sociology in the 1950 annual census revealed that a number of projects known to the reviewer were not reported. The increased coverage of research in progress resulting from the use of the questionnaire is witnessed by the fact that seventy-six projects not reported in the Census were uncovered by this device.

In addition to the 56 research projects in rural sociology in the 1950 Census, the chairman of the Committee on Research of the Society, Raymond F. Sletto, made available 32 reports on rural research that were received by

[1] For a listing of most of the problem areas under appraisal and a post mortem on the work of the society-wide committee of fifteen members of the Rural Sociological Society in charge of the appraisal, see W. H. Sewell, "Needed Research in Rural Sociology," *Rural Sociology,* XV (June, 1950), 115–25. The points raised by the discussants of this paper (Kingsley Davis and Raymond F. Sletto) merit serious consideration by sociologists engaged in research.

[2] M. J. Taves and Neal Gross, "A Critique of Rural Sociological Research, 1950", *Rural Sociology* (in press).

[3] See the following for previous critiques, reviews and suggested orientations pertaining to the field of rural sociology: Committee of the Rural Sociological Society of America and the B.A.E., *The Field of Research in Rural Sociology,* U.S.D.A., B.A.E., Washington, D. C., 1938; also see W. A. Anderson, "Rural Sociology as a Science", *Rural Sociology,* XII. (December, 1947), 347–56; Robin M. Williams, "Review of Current Research in Rural Sociology", *Rural Sociology,* XI (June, 1946), 103–114; E DeS. Brunner, "Sociology Tomorrow", *Rural Sociology,* XI (June, 1946), 95–162; Lowry Nelson, "Rural Sociology—Dimensions and Horizons", *Rural Sociology,* X (June, 1945), 131–135; C. E. Lively, "Rural Sociology as an Applied Science", *Rural Sociology,* VIII (December, 1943), 331–342.

[4] The questionnaire and one follow-up resulted in responses from 80% of the departments and agencies. Eight of these reported no research in progress. The mean return from the remaining departments and agencies was a report on 3.4 projects and the range was from 1 to 14 projects.

the Committee through the end of August, 1951, for the 1951 census. Among the three lists of projects (1950 census, 1951 census and the returns from the questionnaire) there was considerable duplication. However, the questionnaire increased the total number of projects by approximately one hundred per cent. In consequence, this review of 168 projects probably reflects most of the current research in progress in rural sociology although the exact extent of its coverage is indeterminate.

It was originally contemplated to compare the number of projects in the field of rural sociology in previous years with those reported this year. Such an analysis was abandoned, however, since it would be highly misleading and unrealistic in view of the greater effort expended in securing a more complete coverage of projects this year and the high probability of considerable incompleteness in early censuses.

In attempting to organize the reported projects into a systematic sociological framework, this reviewer was confronted with the same difficulties faced by others who have attempted similar tasks with this field. As Robin Williams indicated in his review of current rural research in 1946:

"For the available studies resemble a part of a jigsaw puzzle for which a dominant design seems not to have existed. Whether or not this is regarded as inevitable historically, and whether or not it is thought to be deplorable or commendable, it does seem true that research in rural sociology is especially fragmentary and recalcitrant to systematization." [5]

With this statement one cannot disagree. There are at least two basic factors involved in this systematization problem. (1) Many of the projects are at best indirectly related to the discipline of sociology. A number of studies undertaken by rural sociologists are a result of pressures exerted on them by agricultural leaders and administrators to shed light on immediate and pressing problems confronting the rural population. The history of research in rural sociology is in large part a reflection of the changing problems confronting the farm and rural population as defined by its leaders.[6] The public support of rural sociological research activities in the land grant colleges is predicated largely on the assumption that these investigations will "pay off" quickly in helping to resolve the social problems and social maladjustments confronting the agricultural population.

A number of rural sociologists apparently are satisfied with this *ad hoc* problem-solving role; others rebel against it and insist that the energies of sociologists of rural life be devoted to studies with greater sociological relevancy and scientific importance. The latter contend that only when a body of limited sociological generalizations is available will rural sociologists be in a strong position to help solve problems pertaining to rural welfare.[7] The viewpoint that scientifically significant work can be done on practical problem resolving research is emerging as a possible solution to these different points of view.[8] (2) The second major reason for the difficulty of classifying research studies in progress is the slight attention given to conceptualization and the "aversion to theory"[9] in rural sociological studies. This matter has been commented on quite extensively in the recent critical literature.[10] This lack of theoretical orientation makes it difficult to hang studies on similar theoretical pegs and hinders their systematization.

The classifications used in Table 1 in categorizing studies in progress for purposes of this review, therefore, represent a fairly arbitrary schema and should be judged as such. They represent a modification of the categories used in an appraisal of this field in 1938.[11] In addition to the difficulties in setting up a classificatory scheme the reviewer also found himself frequently at loss in classifying projects because of the paucity of information available from the reports. In consequence, the classification of some studies is debatable.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Previous reviews[12] of the field of rural sociology have shown that the major research emphasis has been in the area of social organization. Despite the grossness of the subdivisions used in Table 1 one is fairly safe in stating that this same emphasis is dominant at the present time. In general, the design and methodology of these projects show no marked deviation from earlier social organization studies. With certain notable exceptions they are largely cross sectional in design and lean heavily on the interview-schedule technique for gathering data.

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[5] R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[6] C. C. Taylor, "Rural Life and Rural Sociology", p. 6 in C. C. Taylor *et al, Rural Life in the United States:* Knopf, 1949.

[7] Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[8] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[9] Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[10] See the previously cited papers of Williams, Sewell, and Taves and Gross.

[11] The Committee of the Rural Sociological Society of America and the B.A.E., *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

TABLE 1. A CLASSIFICATION OF RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL PROJECTS REPORTED BY RESEARCH WORKERS IN 1950 AND 1951 BY SELECTED CATEGORIES AND SUBCATEGORIES*

Classification of Projects		Number of Projects
STUDIES IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION		78
(including human ecology)		
1. Locality grouping studies	8	
2. Comparative studies in community structure	2	
3. Descriptive studies of social organization in rural areas	4	
4. Regions and subregions	5	
5. Voluntary associations and social participation	18	
6. Ethnographic studies	3	
7. Rural-urban fringe studies	3	
8. Studies of the rural church	3	
9. Studies in education	7	
10. Studies of the rural family	9	
11. The role of the newspaper in community integration	1	
12. Social stratification (and social mobility)	15	
STUDIES IN POPULATION		27
1. General demographic studies	11	
2. Factors related to differential fertility	3	
3. Population projection	1	
4. Migration studies	12	
STUDIES IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY		11
1. Attitude and opinion studies	6	
2. Personality and socialization	2	
3. Culture patterns and mental health	1	
4. Youth adjustment	1	
5. Rural-urban differentials in intelligence	1	
CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE		18
1. Diffusion of technological innovations	6	
2. Impact of changing agricultural technology	5	
3. Social change and community organization	4	
4. Industrialization of depressed areas	1	
5. Impact of federal programs on rural living	1	
6. Impact of electrification on a rural community	1	
SOCIAL POLICY, PLANNING AND WELFARE		32
1. Rural health studies	13	
2. Rural housing studies	3	
3. Social planning studies	7	
4. Problems of old age and retirement	4	
5. Child welfare	1	
6. Rural crime	1	
7. Agricultural extension studies	3	
MISCELLANEOUS		2
TOTAL		168

*These projects were obtained (1) from the 1950 Census of the American Sociological Society and (2) from the census cards returned to the Research Committee of the Society through the end of August, 1951, for the 1951 census and (3) from the returns to a questionnaire sent to the major research centers in rural sociology.

There is apparently slight use, explicitly or implicitly, of the structure-function or inter-actional role frameworks for studying the social structure of the community or smaller social entities.

The first subheading under the category, Studies in Social Organization, in Table 1, reflects the continued interest in the ecological aspect of social organization in rural sociology. Several of these studies apparently have as their major purpose the delineation and description of neighborhoods and village or town centered communities. The studies of John H. Kolb, Lowry Nelson and Selz Mayo are of especial interest for they are attempting to describe and account for the changes in locality groupings in

selected social areas through restudying the ecological organization of areas studied previously. Other types of studies in process are the relationships of size of villages and towns to their functions, the disparity between local governmental and natural social areas and factors related to the growth and decline of communities. Sample titles of projects are:

Trends in Country Neighborhoods and in Town-Country Relationship
Community Organization and Participation in a Selected County of The Tennessee Valley
Rural Neighborhoods and Community Organization in Wake County, North Carolina
Neighborhoods and Communities in Indiana

The two studies in the second subheading appear to be broad in scope and attempt to determine the variations and similarities in such diverse phases of community structure as solidarity and *rational* community organization. The third subheading includes descriptive surveys of the formal and informal social organization of such varied rural areas as villages in Ceylon and counties in the Tennessee Valley and Great Plains areas.

Subheading four refers to a series of studies ranging from the isolation and description of socio-geographic regions of the United States to the delineation of sub-areas within a state on such criteria as levels of living and a composite of economic and sociological criteria. Three of them are essentially methodological studies and several hold promise of making significant contributions to the field of regional delineation. One study is concerned with the cultural adaptations of the Great Plains region.

Eight of the studies under subheading five are concerned with analyses of voluntary associations and the remaining ten deal with the differential social participation of rural people. The voluntary association studies reflect an increasing awareness by rural sociologists of the importance of special interest groups in the rural community. These studies consider such problems as the relationship between special interest organizations and community functioning, factors related to the success and failure of associations, the relative gains and losses of selected institutional associations and the analysis of leadership and organizational structure of voluntary groups. These investigations are primarily concerned with special interest groups at the local community level. A rich and fertile area of sociological research, the study of the impact of farm organizations on government agencies and policies at the state and national levels, remains virtually virgin territory. There are undoubtedly "difficulties" in obtaining support for this type of investigation in the land grant colleges and

other research agencies subsidized by government funds. If this important problem area is to be tackled in a sociological framework it probably will require the attention of sociologists in the private colleges and universities.

The social participation studies are primarily concerned with the differential characteristics of people with high and low community participation scores and the distinguishing characteristics of the individuals who participate in selected types of local associations. One study is attempting to explore the extent of participation of rural people in local as compared to state and national associations.

The sixth subheading refers to ethnographic studies of rural social areas. Two investigators are attempting to determine "the general cultural framework of the South as well as to attain some precision with regard to the constituent subcultures or subregional variations of culture." The third study has as its objective the determination of important general background factors of the Mexican immigrant in the United States through an ethnographic study of a representative rural Mexican community.

Subheading seven includes those studies concerned with selected phases of problems of social organization of the interstitial areas between the country and the city. It includes such diversified projects as the social correlates of land tenure, the social relations between old and new residents and factors affecting the agricultural youth program in the rural-urban fringe.

The kinds of studies in process in the eighth and ninth subcategories are indicated by a sample of some of the titles:

Trends of Rural Churches in Minnesota
The Rural Churches of Pennsylvania
The Changing Profile of Church Leadership in Polk County, Iowa, 1940–48
Need for School District Reorganization Indicated by Preliminary Census Reports
Social and Economic Factors Affecting Rural Schools in Illinois and the Problems of their Reorganization
Education and Life in Puerto Rico
Socio-Cultural Factors Influencing High School Attendance by Farm Youth

Reuben Hill in his review of current research on marriage and the family in the October issue of the Review pointed out that the life-cycle frame of reference grew out of research in the field of rural sociology. Only two of the nine family studies are utilizing this framework and they are investigations of the correlates of different phases of the life cycle. Formal and informal participation, attitudes and opinions toward community services, facilities and problems and use of selected services such as medical facilities

are viewed as dependent variables in these studies. The other projects are concerned with such problems as the impact of size of farm and social subregions on the social relationships of farm families, the influence of the family as a decision making unit on the migration of young people and family member's social participation, the attitudes and values of rural as compared to urban families and financial management problems of farm families. These studies are largely cross sectional in design and little attention is being given to the family in an interactional role framework. Sample titles are:

A Study of the Farm Family in Kentucky
Attitudes and Problems of the Rural Family
Characteristics Associated with Stages in the Life Cycle of Farm Families
Attitudes Toward and Experiences in Financial Management of Farm Families

Studies under the twelfth subheading, social stratification, may be classified under four categories. The first category refers to correlates of differential ranking of community residents on such criteria as class position, influence, power and leadership. Apparently rural sociology is one of the few areas in which criteria other than prestige classes are being used to stratify the population of communities. The second category includes studies in social mobility and is concerned with such problems as occupational aspirations of high school boys, vertical mobility as related to church affiliation and a study of social mobility in a Chinese rural community. The third category deals with descriptive statistical studies of levels of living, whereas the fourth is concerned with such heterogeneous problems as land tenure systems in the Middle East and the influence of color on social relationships among farmers in Brazil. Sample titles are:

Social Stratification in Rural Iowa
Rural Community Structure
Occupational Aspirations of High School Boys
Color and Social Interaction in Northeast Brazil
Levels of Living in Florida Counties
Land Tenure Systems of the Middle East

Population Studies

Previous reviews [13] of the field of rural sociology have consistently stressed that after investigations in social organization, population studies have been the most emphasized area in research in this field. The disproportionately small current number of studies in population is probably a reflection of delayed researches awaiting the release of detailed census statistics. The next several years will probably be char-

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

acterized by an increase in the number of population studies.

In addition to the usual descriptive studies of the number, growth, distribution, composition and vital processes of the population of selected states and the nation, several investigations are concerned with exploring factors related to differential fertility among ethnic and socio-economic groupings. T. Lynn Smith is continuing his demographic studies of peoples of Latin America and one population projection study is under way at Michigan State College. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the U.S.D.A. continues to devote much attention to the analysis of demographic trends in the rural population and to estimates of current farm population and migration.

The fourth subheading under the population category in Table 1 refers primarily to studies dealing with the volume and trend of migration in selected states and the differential characteristics of migrant and nonmigrants. Only one of these studies is probing the sociopsychological factors involved in migration; the others consider such factors as education, age, sex, and ethnic backgrounds in their relationship to migration. One study deals with the relationship between migration and suicide. Of especial interest are two studies under way at Pennsylvania State College in which the personal and social adjustments of rural migrants in the city are being investigated. Another study with an interesting theme is the analysis of the differential characteristics of farm and non-farm migrants.

Studies in Social Psychology

Relatively slight attention has been devoted in the past and is currently being directed to sociopsychological studies by rural sociologists. Of the eleven studies in this area, six are opinion or attitude studies. Four of these are essentially descriptive while the remaining two are "before and after" studies in which the efficacy of specific educational programs is tested. Two studies deal with factors related to differential child training and personality adjustment. The other studies are concerned with rural-urban differentials in measured intelligence, the adjustment problems of rural as compared to urban youth, and cultural and psychiatric factors in relation to the mental health of the Hutterites. Sample titles are:

Relationship Between Farm Family Living Variables and the Personality Development of Children
Adjustments of Youth to a Changing Society
Rural-Urban Differentials in Measured Intelligence
Modifying Dental Attitudes Through Community Programs
A Farm Opinion Survey

Studies in Cultural and Social Change

That rural life is undergoing rapid social and cultural change is recognized by most recent text book writers in rural sociology. Table 1, however, indicates that current research in this field still emphasizes a static as opposed to a dynamic framework for viewing rural social behavior. A relatively small proportion of the studies are concerned with cultural and social change.

Eleven of the eighteen studies under this heading are concerned with various aspects of the changing agricultural technology. Six of these deal with factors related to the differential acceptance and the barriers and the facilitators to adoption of new farm practices. The remaining five are concerned with the impact of the mechanization of agriculture on the economic and social organization of rural areas. It is of interest that all the mechanization studies are being conducted in the Southern states.

Three studies are concerned with testing the efficacy of utilizing selected phases of the existing community organization to produce more favorable attitudes toward technological innovations and greater interest and participation in community affairs. Sample titles are:

The Spread of Recommended Farm Practices in Kentucky Communities
Study of the Social Effects of the Mechanization of Agriculture in Louisiana
Reforestation or Positive Control of Social Change
Barriers to the Dissemination of Scientific Farm and Home Information
Industrialization of Depressed Agricultural Areas
Impact of Electrification on a Rural Community

Social Policy, Planning and Welfare Studies

The first subcategory reflects the current health research vogue in rural sociology. Over one third of the thirty-two projects are concerned with the availability and the use of health facilities, services and medical personnel. Most of these studies are primarily descriptive although several attempts to determine the relationship of such factors as income, age, race and propinquity to the utilization of health and medical facilities and services. The following titles suggest the scope of these studies:

Health Practices and Use of Health Services in Rural Mississippi
Factors Affecting the Use of Medical, Dental and Hospital Facilities in Pennsylvania Rural Communities
The Availability of Medical Personnel in Rural Louisiana
Medical Care and Health Services Among Rural People in North Carolina
Utilization of Health Services by Rural People

Four studies deal with problems of old age and retirement of rural people. Three studies deal with rural housing. Two consider the adequacy of farm housing and one is concerned with the "process of interaction in which rural families are involved in securing a new farmhouse."

The kind of planning projects in progress is suggested by the following titles:

Planning for Small Cities and Towns in the Southeast
Social and Economic Reconnaissance of a Selected Tributary Watershed
Community and Population Bases in Planning County Library Services.

Three projects are concerned with techniques for improving the agricultural extension programs. Their titles are:

Organizational Factors Involved in Agricultural Extension in Latin America
Evaluation of Techniques and Effectiveness of Agricultural Extension Education
The Prediction of the Success of the Agricultural Extension Agent

STUDIES IN PROGRESS AT THE DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL LIFE

A review of research in progress in rural sociology would not be complete without directing specific attention to the studies in progress at the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U.S.D.A. This Division has played an extremely important role in the development of research in the sociology of rural life in the United States. The progress report of the Division at the close of 1950 indicated that the following fourteen studies were in progress:

Current Estimates of Farm Population, Its Characteristics and Movement to and from Farms
Geographic Distribution of the Population of the United States: Regional and Subregional, Rural-Urban, and Non-farm
Rural Population Dynamics: Birth Rates, Migration, Occupational Trends and Related Factors
Estimates and Analysis of the Hired Farm Working Force
Analysis of Differentials in Productivity and Farm Income of Agricultural Workers, by Economic Size of Farms, by States
Analyses of Agricultural Manpower, Employment, and Wages
Study of Labor Mobility Within Agriculture and Between Agricultural and Industrial Jobs
Analysis of Effects of Extension of Social Security and Other Legislation to Agricultural Workers
Trends in the Level of Living Index of Farm Operator Families
Trends in Rural-Urban Differences in Selected Level of Living Items
Interrelationship of the Level of Living Index and Selected Factors

Analysis of Rural Morbidity Rates
Standards and Levels of Living in Relation to
  Missouri Basin Development
Utilization of Health Services

LOCUS, FINANCES AND PERSONNEL

Table 2 confirms the generally recognized
proposition that most research in the field of

TABLE 2. PROJECTS IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY CLASSIFIED
BY: (1) AFFILIATION OF RESEARCHER; (2)
METHOD OF FINANCING; (3) REGION IN WHICH
RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED; (4) AUTHORSHIP;
AND (5) RELATIONSHIP TO THESES REQUIREMENTS

Classification of Projects	Number of Projects
AFFILIATION OF RESEARCHER	
Land grant institutions	118
Non land grant institutions	27
Government agencies	20
Other	3
METHOD OF FINANCING	
By federal and state funds	121
By foundation and other grants	27
By researcher, himself	15
No information	5
REGION IN WHICH RESEARCH CONDUCTED	
Northeastern states	31
North Central states	60
Southern states	44
Western states	14
Outside the United States	9
National studies	10
AUTHORSHIP	
Single	123
Multiple	45
ORIENTATION OF RESEARCH TO ACADEMIC THESES	
Research for theses	23
Projects not related to theses	136
No information	9

rural sociology is conducted at the land grant
colleges and universities. Nearly seventy per
cent of the studies are being done by sociologists
affiliated with agricultural experiment stations at
these institutions. An additional twelve per cent
were being undertaken by individuals affiliated
with federal governmental agencies such as the
Division of Farm Population and Rural Life
and the T.V.A. A number of the remaining
studies are being done by individuals who prob-
ably are not labeled rural sociologists but who
were conducting researches in farm or rural
communities.

The financial support of rural sociology is in
sharp contrast with most other fields of sociol-

ogy. For example, in the field of marriage and
the family, Hill recently reported that sixty
per cent of the projects were independently
supported by the researcher. In rural sociology
less than ten per cent of the projects were sup-
ported out of the pocket of the researcher.
Whereas approximately one-third of the projects
in the family field were supported by grants,
over seventy per cent of the rural projects were
directly financed by state and federal funds and
an additional sixteen per cent of the projects
were financed by foundation and university
grants.

There is apparently some justification for the
envy many sociologists display toward their
rural colleagues over their access to the research
money bags. It should be mentioned, however,
that the amount of money formerly available
for rural research studies from certain federal
agencies and several of the land grant depart-
ments of rural sociology has been appreciably
cut in the last few years.

A breakdown of the projects on a regional
basis (Table 2) reveals that the largest propor-
tion of research is in progress in the North
Central states. Nearly all of the land grant state
universities and state colleges are engaged in
fairly extensive research programs in the field of
rural sociology. The South also has a large
number of research projects in progress. It is
of interest that the South overshadows the
Northeast and the West in number of projects
reported. The most laggard region appears to be
the West. Of the studies outside of the United
States the largest number are in progress in
Latin and South America and others are or were
being conducted in Ceylon, China, and Sweden.

The ratio of individual to collaborative re-
search is over two to one in favor of the
former. The bulk of the research in rural
sociology has no relationship to thesis projects.
It is interesting to note that a large proportion
of the twenty-three thesis projects are appar-
ently being subsidized by government funds. It
is probably true that the thesis research of grad-
uate students in the field of rural sociology is
more heavily subsidized than that of students
in any other field of sociology.

Finally for a single individual to attempt a
general critical overview of a field so extensive
and diversified in its research activities as rural
sociology and in which over thirty subcommit-
tees are at the present time engaged in intensive
critiques on specific problem areas, would be
exceedingly foolhardy. We await with great
interest the conclusions of the subcommittees.

It has been suggested elsewhere [14] that the

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[14] Taves and Gross, *op. cit.*

midcentury will in the future probably be called the "era of criticism" in rural sociology and that those same years may also be labelled the "critical era." The basic dilemma of this era and a suggested resolution have been succinctly stated by Sletto:

"The rural sociologists' dilemma is that he is called upon to function as a scientist in doing research into practical problems of rural welfare, but is allowed too little opportunity to do the research needed to provide him with the basic knowledge essential to scientific proficiency. What rural sociologists seem to need most is not more money for research but the drafting of an effective plan for gaining more freedom to do significant research within their present social settings."[15]

These words deserve careful consideration by rural sociologists and they merit serious attention by all research sociologists.

EMPLOYMENT AND RETIREMENT OF A GROUP OF OLDER MALES

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Many lay and professional groups have recently shown a growing interest in our older citizens as a special age group increasing in number, political pressure, dependency, and the like. However, it is still a commonplace fact that few direct materials measuring the attitudes, opinions and action-patterns of the aged themselves are available for a more basic understanding of their needs and satisfactions. In reference to the important segment of the aging problem under analysis in the present study, namely, the employment and retirement experiences and desires of a random sample of older males, it is noteworthy that many far-reaching policies and decisions are presently being made in industry, government and labor unions with only a minimal amount of evaluative information as a foundation. Instead, employment and retirement planning is oftentimes relegated to the gristmill of happenstance guess-work where all parties concerned, not to mention national

productivity and health, suffer undue frustration.

The present study was undertaken in order to obtain a community-wide snapshot of the retirement process [1] and related attitudes and adjustments as reflected in the experiences and wishes of a random sample of men over 60 years of age. It was felt that retirement, in the overwhelming number of cases an experience peculiar to males, was an important phenomenon to understand more fully from the male viewpoint. Also, this limitation was levied for practical reasons dictated by the very small sample which was designed to describe broadly the retirement phenomenon.

COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

Two hundred and seven males, selected by a stratified-random sampling method, from Oakland and Berkeley, California, constituted the study group. All of the census tracts in these cities were first stratified by whether they were predominantly high, medium, or low on a full-range socio-economic scale.[2] A second stratification positioned the tracts into two additional cells within each of the three major strata, according to the relatively low or high proportion of males 60 years of age and older to the total males in the tract. The 207 cases to be studied were apportioned throughout the six cells on the basis of a ratio of male population over 60 within each cell to total male population over

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1 "Process" was introduced early in the study when initial background research indicated many complications surrounding a study of retirement, e.g. how to handle cases of three and four-time retirements, partial retirements, etc. Also, it was felt important to include employed men over 60, since not only were they approaching the crucial period of retirement decision, but also because of this "process" viewpoint. This permitted an examination of a cross-section of men at various stages of approaching, entering and adjusting to retirement. Setting the division point at 60 years of age almost equally divided the population into half employed and half retired. Finally, it permitted comparability with other old age research which popularly has accepted the age of 60 as a chronological beginning of many manifestations of aging, and has accordingly sampled among groups over this age.

2 A University of California Ph.D. thesis completed in the Department of Psychology, *Objective Determinants of Urban Sub-Culture Areas* by Trenton Wann, already had determined on the basis of 33 census variables and elaborate correlation analysis, positions of census tracts on a socio-economic scale. This scale was adopted and arbitrarily divided into three strata to correspond with high, medium and low socio-economic levels.

60. A random sample of two-sided city blocks[3] was then drawn and all men found in the selected block segments, who were over 60 years of age, were interviewed.

The sample yielded 102 cases of retirement and 105 respondents in the labor force, 87 of whom were employed in a full or part-time capacity. This distribution of the labor force status of older males compared very favorably with that of the general population.

AGE AT RETIREMENT

Out of a total of 102 cases of retirement which were examined, the age of retirement ranged from one case at the age of 41 to two cases retired in their 80th year. In spite of this apparently wide range, the majority of cases clustered between 60 and 70 years of age, making the average age of retirement 65.67 (65 years and 8 months) or almost precisely the age which generally is conceded to mark off the working life of most men from that of rest and retirement. One standard deviation equaled 5.45; thus, about sixty-eight per cent of the retirants left employment between 60.22 and 71.12 years of age. The curve representing age of retirement is uni-modal, skewed slightly to the left. Table 1 is a distribution of the 102 retirement cases grouped by four-year age intervals.

TABLE 1. THE RETIRANTS: AGE AT RETIREMENT

Age at Retirement Year	Frequency
40–43.9	1
44–47.9	1
48–51.9	3
52–55.9	5
56–59.9	7
60–63.9	11
64–67.9	35
68–71.9	20
72–75.9	10
76–79.9	7
80–83.9	2
Total: All Retirants	102

[3] It was found that two sides of a city block would yield the most desirable results for the size of the anticipated sample, e.g. cluster effects were thereby held to a minimum. This is illustrated by the results which showed a range of from 0 to 12 men obtained per two-sided block; the average yield throughout equaled about two men per sampled block. Additional controls for multiple-structured units were also included.

OCCUPATION, SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP AND AGE OF RETIREMENT

Analysis of the socio-economic group of the retirants according to early (age 65 and under) or late (over 65) retirement indicates interesting trends in retirement experience. In much of the analysis of the survey, socio-economic groupings were used since the number of cases was much too small for finer breakdowns. Four socio-economic groups were structured after considerable attention to pertinent literature.[4] Table 2 shows that SE II (small managers, proprietors, and officials plus clerical-sales groups) retire somewhat later than most men, 63.4 per cent retiring after 65 years of age. On the other hand, as might be expected from the known high casualty rates of employment among older workers who are unskilled or of low economic stature, 64.3 per cent of SE IV retire earlier than age 65. This prevailing trend has a strange twist, in that upper middle-class (SE II) ideology seemingly asserts that retirement at an early age is desirable; contrariwise, the values surrounding "work" and "labor" as good and necessary, even "unto death," are often posed as a yoke of the laborers' (SE IV) own making. These suppositions as to needs and desires of certain groups are not in line with retirement facts. The actual experience of these different groups in fact opposes the work-retirement ideology heretofore attributed to them. This is only one of the many ponderables making retirement the "trap" it is characterized as by Senator Thomas Desmond, Chairman of New York State's Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging.[5]

Occupationally, it was found that the most pronounced early retirement is among unskilled workers, 83.4 per cent retiring at or before 65 years of age. The occupational group retiring latest was professional and semi-professionals.

[4] See especially Genevieve Knupfer's *Indices of Socio-Economic Status, A Study of Some Problems of Measurement,* a Ph.D. thesis in the Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 1946. In the present survey SE-I has as its base all professionals and semi-professionals and also includes all managers, proprietors and officials earning more than $5,000 per year; SE-II contains all clerical and sales groups and small managers, proprietors and officials (less than $5,000 per year); SE-III includes all skilled workers and those semi-skilled and service workers earning $50 per week or more; SE-IV contains all unskilled workers and those semi-skilled and service workers earning less than $50 per week.

[5] Senator Thomas C. Desmond, "Retirement Is a Trap," *Never Too Old,* New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, Legislative Document (1949), No. 32, p. 171.

TABLE 2. THE RETIRANTS: SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP AT RETIREMENT BY AGE AT RETIREMENT IN NUMBER AND PER CENT

| Socio-Economic Group | Totals | | Age at Retirement | | | |
| | | | 65 and Under | | Over 65 | |
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
S.E. I	11	100.0	6	54.5	5	45.5
S.E. II	30	100.0	11	36.6	19	63.4
S.E. III	28	100.0	13	46.4	15	53.6
S.E. IV	28	100.0	18	64.3	10	35.7
Totals[a]	97	100.0	48	49.5	49	50.5

[a] Information on the schedules of five retirants was not sufficient to permit their use in this or the following tables and accompanying analysis.

REASONS FOR RETIREMENT AND VOLUNTARY AND INVOLUNTARY RETIREMENT

An examination of the extent of voluntary retirement and reasons for retirement permits a closer view of the phenomenon. The open-end question "Why did you retire?" and follow-up probe questions were asked of all retirants; later, the responses were classified according to the major reasons indicated and whether the retirement was voluntary or involuntary. It was found that only about one-third of all retirements are voluntary; half of these were the result of retirants quitting because they felt "too old" to continue in the harness or were "slipping."

Considering the entire group of retirants, about one man in every three is forced into involuntary retirement due to poor health; compulsory age limits in industry force another two out of ten into occupational inactivity. Only about one man in ten retired voluntarily because of definite plans that had been formulated.

The question arises as to the distribution of voluntary and involuntary cases among the socio-economic groups. As might be expected, the corollary to the already noted early retirement age of the unskilled and lower socio-economic group is a very large majority of in-

voluntary retirements, roughly 82 per cent (See Table 3). The highest socio-economic group, on the other hand, reflects a predominance of voluntary retirements, about three men in four.

Among specific occupational groups it was found that clerical and sales personnel had the highest percentage of involuntary retirements (93%). This fact is no doubt traceable to the very precarious economic position of older workers in these groups. Their earnings, for the most part, are insufficient for complete economic security in old age and, on the other hand, they usually are not covered by formal pension plans. The largest percentage of voluntary retirements fall in the occupational groups: large managers, proprietors and officials (60%) and professionals (75%).

THE EMPLOYED GROUP—EMPLOYMENT-RETIREMENT DESIRES

Among the employed men over 60 years of age, when asked "How long do you intend to go on working?" sixty-five per cent indicated that they intended to continue as long as they possibly could. Many of these men further qualified their statements with "until I die," or "until I am physically unable to continue." Significantly, when asked why this was their intention, the

TABLE 3. THE RETIRANTS: SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP BY RETIREMENT CHOICE, VOLUNTARY AND INVOLUNTARY IN NUMBER AND PER CENT

| Socio-Economic Group | Totals | | Retirement Choice | | | |
| | | | Voluntary | | Involuntary | |
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
S.E. I	11	100.0	8	72.5	3	27.5
S.E. II	30	100.0	10	38.3	20	67.7
S.E. III	28	100.0	10	35.8	18	64.2
S.E. IV	28	100.0	5	17.8	23	82.2
Totals	97	100.0	33	34.0	64	66.0

major responses given divided almost equally between financial necessity and "because I like to work." Thus, about one-third of all employed older workers want to work as long as possible simply because of work enjoyment. This large percentage lends support to those proponents of programs which would encourage the expansion of various kinds of employment opportunities for older people as a more realistic approach than compulsory retirement ages. Although evidence is not included here, it was found that the preceding data distributed itself almost uniformly, percentage-wise, across age and socio-economic groupings.

The other 35% of employed older workers specified intentions of quitting work eventually; half of these anticipated leaving regular employment at the retirement age set by their employers. It is interesting to note that only three men out of 105 indicated that social security benefits might induce them to leave employment.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE RETIRANTS AND THE EMPLOYED

One implication of the foregoing analysis is that a great many older employed workers are not prepared for what is in fact the actual experience of many of the retirants; namely, involuntary retirement at a median age of 65. This is more graphically illustrated by a brief and condensed examination of responses by both groups of men to the identical question, "What do you think is the most important reason why men retire?" [6] Table 4 shows that the aggregate

TABLE 4. SURVEY RESULTS OF VOLUNTARY AND INVOLUNTARY RETIREMENT AND RESPONSES OF THE RETIRANTS AND THE EMPLOYED TO THE QUESTION, "WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON WHY MEN RETIRE?"

	Responses	
Respondents	Voluntary Reasons	Involuntary Reasons
The Retirants	40	57
The Employed	56	49
Actual Survey Results	33	64

of retired workers' responses to this question much more closely approximates the actual situation, as found in this study, than that of the employed workers. Over one-half of the em-

[6] The answers given to this question were classified as voluntary and involuntary according to the type of retirement or method of retirement specified by the respondents.

ployed group felt that most men retire for voluntary reasons, whereas it was found in this survey that only about one-third actually do so. It is quite evident that many older workers will find a retirement decision not of their own making thrust upon them unexpectedly. Further questions remaining revolve around what may happen in terms of individual, familial, social and other adjustments when the older worker is forced to meet an unanticipated consequence.

The hazards inherent in the transition from adulthood to old age are many, but "the more gradual the transitions between age categories, the less the difficulties of the individual in assuming the new roles." [7] This accepted sociological generality, when set against this survey, suggests that a great many adjustment problems of the older worker find their base in the garments of the retirement nemesis.

THE LEADERSHIP PATTERN

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Whether or not they state their assumptions, nearly all writers in the leadership field can be classified as "structuralists" or "functionalists." The former tend to view leadership as a special trait or set of traits, residing within the person as a constitutional part of the personality structure, while the latter tend to view leadership as a function of the situation. The former are referred to as "trait" analysts, and the latter as "situationists." [1]

There is a sense in which these two resemble

[7] Ralph Linton, "Age and Sex Categories," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (December 1942), 602.

[1] Gouldner, Alvin W. (Editor), *Studies in Leadership*, Harper, 1950 esp. pp. 21–42. For the "trait" analysis approach, see: Smith, Henry Lester and Krueger, Levi McKinley, *A Brief Summary of Literature on Leadership*, Indiana University, 1933; Jenkins, William O., "Review of Leadership Studies with Particular Reference to Military Problems," *Psychological Bulletin*, Jan. 1947, pp. 45–79; and Stogdill, R. M., "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," *Journal of Psychology*, June 1948, pp. 35–67. For the "situationist" approach, see: Murphy, A. J., "A Study of the Leadership Process," *American Sociological Review*, 1941, 6:674–687; Whyte, William Foote, *Street Corner Society*, The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1943; Gibb, Cecil, "The Principles and Traits of Leadership," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1947, 42:267–284; Jennings, Helen, *Leadership and Isolation*, Longmans Green, 1943.

each other in method, as well as in orientation. Both employ the *cross-sectional* approach. Both, that is, try to explain leadership in terms of factors operating at a given time. The "trait" analysts focus their attention upon "general" or "universal" leadership traits, that carry over from one situation to another, while the "situationists" emphasize the specific "responses" of the individual, which he may be able to make in one situation and not in another.

What we need, it seems, is a re-orientation within the leadership research field. We seem to have bogged down on cross-sectional studies, in both the "trait" analysis and "situationist" camps. We are still trying to understand leaders by a simple snap-shot, when what we need is a lengthy film, of which the snap-shot is but a segment.

Indeed, one of the basic assumptions of the scientific method is that *what is* can be understood in terms of *what has gone on before*. No criminologist, psychiatrist, or marital counsellor could be considered competent who did not try to secure case history material on the delinquent, neurotic, or marital discord case he was trying to understand. What is being proposed, here, in brief, is a case-history or longitudinal study of leadership. Such an approach has proved fruitful in understanding delinquency, alcoholism, neurosis, psychosis, and kindred phenomena. Why should it not be employed in studying leaders and leadership? It may prove immensely fruitful.

We need a longitudinal, role-analysis approach to the study of leadership, in which an understanding of the adult leader is achieved by viewing all the roles he has played, particularly in childhood. For the purpose of this study, *leadership would be defined as achieved status over a relatively long period of time.*

A comparison of 2 well-matched samples, of leaders and non-leaders, may reveal significant differences, in roles and in other ways, which may have predictive value. If there are leadership "traits," they may appear in a sort of cluster surrounding significant roles, in the nature of a "syndrome."

"Traits" are nothing but abstractions drawn out of the larger continuum of a person's total observed behavior. It is possible that this type of segmental abstraction "denatures" personality, rendering it relatively incomprehensible; whereas, the larger abstraction, the role, may preserve something of the wholeness and organic unity, as well as dynamic character, of the personality we are trying to understand, in both its "deviant" and normal expressions.

Childhood roles seem to be important keys to understanding of adult leadership. Of special importance are those roles played in the family

group; for there we find certain social structures repeatedly asserting themselves before, over and around the individual, in the same way, day after day, eliciting repeated responses—these responses eventually precipitating what may come to be known as "traits." If this be so, the family constellation, as pointed out by Alfred Adler,[2] is of primary importance in structuring personality, predisposing some siblings to leadership more than others. The family constellation comprises a socially structured situation, presenting some unique aspects for each individual member, leading to his differentiation from other members. A number of investigators, since Adler, have indicated the importance of sibling position in personality development.[3] But few investigators seem to have taken these suggestions with the seriousness due them.

That personal differentiation, of a kind that would interest the student of leadership, is partly a consequence of childhood position in the family constellation seems a strongly supported hypothesis.

There is ample reason to believe that "psychogenic," no less than "sociogenic,"[4] aspects of personality are "accretions of experience," although the former come earlier, some even before the process of myelination is complete, at age 24 to 30 months.[5]

Take two male siblings as an example. The assumption of an older brother's role is usually based upon differences in age, size and strength. When a difference exists to a marked and obvious degree, rivalry is likely to be minimal, and an ascendance-submission relationship is likely to result, indicating a mutual acknowledgment of and voluntary accommodation to the differences.

On the other hand, one need not be an older brother to play an older brother's role. In the absence of a difference in age, size or strength, merely social definitions indicating a supposed difference, may suffice for the ascendance-submission relationship to emerge, and to affect the personality development of those involved.

The writer had an interview, in 1939, with a minister, who had two sons, James and John, identical twins, aged 11. The writer was intro-

[2] Adler, Alfred, *Understanding Human Nature*, translated by W. B. Wolfe, 1927.

[3] See: Mowrer, E. R., *The Family*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1932, esp. pp. 126–131; Mowrer, E. R., *Disorganization, Personal and Social*, J. B. Lippincott, 1942, esp. pp. 124–126, 215–217, 283–284 and 585; and Brown, Guy, *Social Psychology*, McGraw-Hill, 1934, esp. Chap. V.

[4] Burgess, E. W., and Locke, Harvey J., *The Family*, American Book Co., 1945, pp. 241–245.

[5] Kardiner, Abram, *The Individual and His Society*, Columbia University Press, 1939, p. 34.

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duced formally to both boys by the father who, immediately following the handshakes, remarked smilingly, "John is four minutes older than James." John, who had started to walk away, turned around and snapped back, emphatically, *"SEVEN!"* Throughout their lives, both boys had heard their parents say that John was seven minutes older than James. What was more natural, therefore, than for John to assume the older brother's role, and James that of the younger?

Further investigation revealed that John, the "older," was the more self-confident and dominant, while James was the more submissive and pliant. Bearing in mind the fact that these boys were identical twins, the ascendance-submission relationship and marked differences in personality patterns, particularly in the "psychogenic" components, is remarkable. This strongly suggests the great influence that social definitions, especially within the family, exercise over personality development. Some of the early results of this study were recorded in a thesis at Northwestern University in 1940.

Ten years later, in the summer of 1949, the writer again had occasion to interview James, the "younger" twin, in some detail, and he welcomed this as an opportunity to test the predictive value of some of his earlier observations.

James had been attending college in Iowa, where he was a Junior. His grades were poor, so he had been asked by the dean to withdraw from the college. The boy's explanation was that he "missed too many classes." He stated that during his last year in high school, he and John had played an important role in a stage production, so they were repeatedly excused from classes. This, explained James, may have led both brothers to acquire the class-skipping habit with a feeling of impunity. They continued to skip classes during their first year in college, in Iowa. As a consequence, they both made low grades that first year. They decided to separate. Accordingly, the following year, John, the older, left the Iowa college and enrolled at Denver University, where he was a Junior at the time the younger was interviewed. John, it was learned, had been very much interested in acting as a career, but by 1949 had definitely decided to enter the ministry. John boxed in college, while James was a track man. Said James, of his older brother:

He has the better physique. He's more of an extravert; I'm an introvert. I'm closer to mother; John is closer to dad. John is more decisive. I have never been able to make up my mind. He makes friends more easily than I. He usually chose the clothes for us to wear. I hated to go down town. John is more impulsive and his temper is more violent. He's not as easy to control as I am.

But I excel him in some ways. I can save money better than he can. For instance, we were both stock-boys at Nashville when we were 13, and we both got the same pay. But John was always out of money and had to borrow from me. We both started to work in a theatre at the same time. John left after two months; I stayed on for two years. He had more jobs than I, but he didn't keep them very long, usually, because of plays and dramas in which he participated in school. Consequently, John was always broke and had to borrow from me. Once, he owed me $200. Now, he's paid it all back, except about $25. I can handle finances better than he can.

John, the older, was first to show an interest in stage plays, and he was president of the dramatics club in high school for 2 years. Said James, "He dragged me into drama. But I became interested in back-stage work, and I like it."

James, the younger, has shown some interest in acting, too, but chiefly when John has not been around (perhaps, fearful of suffering from comparison). The boys physically resemble each other so closely that it is difficult to tell them apart. Said James:

Last year, when I was rehearsing the part of Mr. Forkelson (taking the role played by Edgar Bergen in "I Remember Mamma"), John came up from Denver for a visit. I coached him a bit on the part I was playing, and he memorized a few lines. He went in to take my place, and even the director didn't know the difference. At the end, I walked in and stood beside John, then walked over to sit down next to the leading lady. Her chin dropped and she looked flabbergasted, until she woke up to what had happened.

I remember another time, during our first year in college, when John took my place. I had to catch a train, so John walked to my class and sat in my seat, with no one knowing the difference. He's substituted for me several times like that, especially when we were boys, before going to college.

Interviewer: "Jim, did you ever substitute for John, as he has for you?"

James: "No, I never have. You know, I never thought of that."

It is clear that John, the older, is more adventurous, bold, forward, and aggressive, while James, the younger, has accommodated himself to John's dominance. James is more cautious and reticent: "John dragged me into drama. But I became interested in back-stage work." It seems that, since John excelled in acting, and James feared that comparison might show him up unfavorably, he decided to excel in back-stage work. Then if James goes into dramatic directing, as he expressed a desire to do, he can

tell people like his older brother, John, what to do.

John has done more dating. James has dated "some, but not as much as John."

Interviewer: "Did John ever fix you up with dates?"

James: "No, that was *one* thing I wouldn't let him do for me. I got my own dates. We often triple-dated, with another friend of ours."

When the dating question was later rephrased, however, James admitted that, "several times, I guess, when John has gotten a date, and she had a girl-friend without a date, I went along."

Throughout their lives, both boys "had the impression that Dad would be happy if we went into the ministry. But I don't think he intended that we should." "We attended conferences at summer camps and were influenced, some, there." John, the "older," decided to enter the ministry "quite a while ago." James entertained the idea for a time, but not seriously. He is now interested in radio-drama production. He may compromise his several vocational ambitions by going into religious drama. "Eventually, I'd like to enter Garrett [the theological seminary attended by his father] for several courses. I used to think of the ministry, but now it's drama."

It may be significant to note that at an early age, both boys were told by their parents that John was "just like his father," and James was "just like his uncle," on his mother's side, a chemist. The uncle is reserved and introverted, preferring the laboratory, according to the twins' father, who was also interviewed in 1949. The father is dynamic, aggressive and domineering. He has personally built up a phase of church work which is national in scope, and he supervises the work of about 200 persons over the nation. James seems to have absorbed the uncle's role, while John has absorbed the father's role. It was said, too, in the family, that James was also "like his mother," who was the subordinate member of the marriage pair. The father acknowledged that John was decidedly the more domineering, while James had accommodated himself to the uneven pair relationship, by acquiescing.

The evidence in this case seems to point to the emergence of the personality pattern, including its psychogenic components, through social interaction, especially that which takes place within the group structure of the family constellation. Early childhood roles within the family as well as within peer groups, merit close examination by any investigator who would understand ascendancy or leadership on the adult level. Some of the stronger roots of leadership seem to lie in childhood experiences.

SOME DATA FOR STUDYING THE SUPPLY OF SOCIOLOGISTS

Claude E. Hawley and Lewis A. Dexter

Washington, D. C.

Three recent studies by the U. S. Office of Education [1] provide some information about the supply of sociologists in the country. During the three-year period, 1947–50, doctor's degrees in sociology constituted about 1.5% of all doctorates awarded, master's degrees slightly less than 1% of all master's granted, and bachelor's degrees about 1.8% of all bachelor's degrees.

This represents an absolute increase in the number of degrees granted in sociology since there has been an absolute increase in the number of degrees granted in all fields, but sociology has remained in the same proportional position. In relation to the traditional social sciences, it ranks substantially ahead of anthropology and geography in graduate degrees, but considerably behind the other four: history, economics, political science, and psychology. There were, for instance, 283 doctor's degrees reported in psychology in 1949–50 as compared with 98 doctorates reported in sociology; there were 921 master's degrees reported in economics as compared with 552 in sociology in that same year.

The increase in doctorates in sociology was from 66 in 1947–48 to 98 in 1949–50, in master's degrees from 430 in 1947–48 to 552 in 1949–50, and in bachelor's degrees from 6,271 in 1947–48 to 7,887 in 1949–50. About seven times as many men as women received doctorates during the period and about twice as many got master's degrees. Due to the G.I. Bill, of course, far more men than women received financial aid for graduate work.

The following institutions awarded the largest number of master's degrees during the period under consideration: [2] Columbia, Chicago, New

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[1] Robert C. Story, *Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions, 1947–48,* Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Circular No. 247; *Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions, 1948–49,* Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Circular No. 262; *Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions, 1949–50,* Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Circular No. 282.

[2] A number of master's degrees awarded in social work unquestionably involved considerable preparation by the students in sociology.

York University, Catholic, Pittsburgh, Harvard, Yale, Wisconsin, Southern California, North Carolina, Texas, Atlanta, Tufts, State University of Iowa, New School for Social Research, Michigan, Ohio State, and State College of Washington.

The following table will show the concentration of doctoral work at a few institutions:

1948–49 indicated that 112 schools believed to have active political science departments reported awarding no degrees in that area during the year. A letter of inquiry was sent to the chairman of the political science department at each of these institutions. Of the 31 chairmen replying, 14 specifically stated that they had awarded degrees and several replies were un-

NUMBER OF DOCTORATES REPORTED AS AWARDED BY GRADUATE DEPARTMENTS OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1947–50

Total 247

Chicago	52	Michigan State	5
Harvard-Radcliffe	22	University of Michigan	5
Ohio	17	University of Pennsylvania	5
Columbia	16	Texas	5
North Carolina	13	Indiana	4
Catholic	11	Duke	3
Wisconsin	10	Iowa	3
University of Washington	9	New School for Social Research	3
Cornell	8	Washington University	3
University of Southern California	7	Nebraska	2
Yale	7	American	1
Louisiana State	7	Iowa State College	1
New York University	6	Pennsylvania State	1
Pittsburgh	6	Stanford	1
Virginia	6	St. Louis	1
State College of Washington	6	Vanderbilt	1

The above table is constructed on the basis of reports provided by the recording office of different universities. Sociologists will note that here, as in many other aspects of recording, the processes of innovation create difficulties for the makers of tables. For example, in 1949–50, Harvard did not report *any* doctorates in sociology. This, of course, is in one sense technically accurate because the degrees were awarded as a result of work in the relatively new Department of Social Relations. But of the doctorates awarded in social relations, at least 7 were in fact degrees in "sociology" as that subject is normally defined.

Analyzing the degrees awarded by Harvard in social relations in 1949–50, another limitation of our data is suggested. Six of the doctorates involved specialization in "social psychology." Should they be "credited" for purposes of national tabulation to sociology or psychology? Of course, the point is that some proportion of the graduate students in psychology and also in political science, economics, history, and geography acquire the equivalent of a graduate training in sociology. Probably most graduate students in social anthropology potentially at least contribute to the supply of sociologists.

There are other difficulties involved in using these records, which students of social statistics have encountered in many fields, arising out of omission and error. Analysis of the reports for

clear. Additional A.B.'s reported numbered 138, A.M.'s 14, and Ph.D.'s 5. It appears probable that of the 81 institutions from which no reply was received, there were some which also awarded degrees in political science. Presumably similar omissions have occurred in the field of sociology. In many institutions, sociologists interested in comparative educational statistics could make a genuine contribution by helping to improve standards of accuracy and consistency in reporting. We hope this note may be regarded as a plea to the profession for such an effort.

THE PARTICIPANT OBSERVER AND "OVER-RAPPORT"

S. M. MILLER

Brooklyn College

In making a field study involving a participant observer relationship, the writer made mistakes which could have been avoided if earlier researchers had pointed out these possible pitfalls.[1] The error in question is that of "over-

[1] The field study referred to in this note is my doctoral dissertation, *Union Structure and Industrial Relations: A Case Study of a Local Labor Union*, Princeton University, 1951 (microfilm).

rapport." This neologism has been adopted because no existing word expresses the idea that the researcher may be so closely related to the observed that his investigations are impeded. Studies of the participant observer method concentrate on such problems as how to gain entry and achieve rapport. The usual difficulties pointed to are those of insufficient rapport or under-rapport, for in such cases it is difficult to continue the study. But is it not possible to gain too much rapport?

In my study of local union leadership, I grew very close to the leaders. I was accepted by them, even liked by them, despite my academic background. Many personal things were told to me in a friend-to-friend relationship; undoubtedly I gained information because of this relationship which would not have been available to me in any other way.

On the other hand, once I had developed a close relationship to the union leaders I was committed to continuing it, and some penetrating lines of inquiry had to be dropped. They had given me very significant and delicate information about the internal operation of the local; to question closely their basic attitudes would open up severe conflict areas. To continue close rapport and to pursue avenues of investigation which appeared antagonistic to the union leaders was impossible. To shift to a lower level of rapport would be difficult because such a change would induce considerable distance and distrust. It would reveal that the attitude of the participant observer to the leaders was not the same as the leaders' feelings of friendship for the observer. They accepted the observer as an individual, a friend, not as one playing a delimited social role. Friendship connotes an all-accepting attitude; to probe beneath the surface of long-believed values would break the friend-to-friend relationship. It may also be that development of a friend-to-friend relationship between the leaders and the participant observer was a means used by the former to limit the observer's investigations and criticisms. In a sense, the observer may be co-opted into friendship, a situation which may have prevailed in some studies of management-worker interaction.

Over-rapport had a second limiting effect of greater subtlety. We have been told of situations in which rapport with leaders may mean lack of rapport with rank and file individuals.[2] This situation does not merely mean that rank and file members may be diffident in articulating

their grievances to "administration men," which is how the observer, who is friendly to the leaders, may appear to them. The neglected element is what happens to the observer: he first hears about things from the leaders with whom he has rapport; he develops their "set" toward problems; when he talks to rank and filers he readily accepts those of their statements which conform to articulated leadership attitudes, even when these statements are not deeply meaningful to the rank and file members. In short, the observer has become so attuned to the sentiments of the leaders that he is ill-attuned to the less clearly articulated feelings of the rank and file.

The research :r should not become a mere machine, but i: situations involving overt and covert controversy, he should be wary of identifying himself symbolically and emotionally with a particular group.[3]

In other words, the participant observer relationship requires rapport combined with objectivity.[4] The achievement of such a relationship is difficult and complex. The researcher has to gauge how much rapport is necessary to get the cooperation required to continue the study.[5] In most situations, it should not be too difficult to develop this basic level of rapport. The second problem of preventing the rapport from growing to such an extent that it hinders the study is more difficult. When rapport does move beyond what is necessary for the study is difficult to decide, for rapport is more than a technique of acceptance. It involves a sensitive understanding of individuals so that one is able to make insightful analyses of behavior. To protect himself from developing impeding over-rapport, the researcher should ask himself: At what point does closeness to the subjects limit the research role? He should try to make clear that he is interested in a number of people in the particular situation, and that his research

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[2] Marvin K. Opler, review of Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage*, in *American Anthropologist*, No. 50 (April-June, 1948), pp. 307–10.

[3] The amount of covert controversy is frequently underestimated by investigators, because they tend to accept the leading group's analysis of the situation. Industrial sociology studies, in particular, should avoid this error of perception and feeling.

[4] This statement of the problem bears many similarities to that of "over-identification" of social workers with clients.

[5] Researchers probably overestimate rather than underestimate the amount necessary for the continuation of the study. The desire to get along extremely well with his observed subjects may be in part a function of the insecurity of the researcher, particularly in relation to non-academic people. The anxiety of the researcher in his work is similar to the counter-transference of the therapist in a psychotherapeutic situation. This latter problem, interestingly enough, is becoming increasingly discussed in the psychoanalytical literature.

activities are his prime reasons for being present. In some cases, he must resolutely decide to prevent relationships from becoming more personal than is desirable for the development of insight and the maintenance of rapport. For the participant observer, the problem is not merely that of developing rapport; the question rather is what kind and quality of rapport are desirable?

A NOTE ON THE "RATIONALITY" OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN VOTING FOR OFFICERS

DAVID GOLD

State University of Iowa

A minor ripple of suspicion disturbed the American Anthropological Association when all of its elective officers for 1950 turned out to be those candidates whose names on the ballots had appeared in first place for their respective offices. Since the practice of the AAA in recent years has been to list candidates on its ballots alphabetically, there appeared some reason to believe that an anthropologist whose name began with W stood a poorer chance to win office than one whose name began with A, simply by patronymic fortune.

Not wishing to prejudice his fellow lowly-alphabetized anthropologists in the 1951 elections, Dr. David B. Stout, secretary of the AAA, decided to scramble the order of names on the ballots in such manner that each candidate would appear in first place and in all other positions an equal number of times.

Six different ballot forms were sufficient to give all candidates equal frequencies of appearance in each placement. The following six patterns of names were chosen from the 532 possible patterns.[1] All names of candidates in these illustrations are fictitious.

row, vice-president; the third row, executive board member for 1951–52–53 to succeed A. B. Green; the last row, executive board member for 1951–52–53 to succeed F. C. White. As can be seen, the first pattern is strictly alphabetical, and the others are systematically reordered in one of the many possible systematic reorderings.

The envelopes in which the ballots were mailed out were serially stuffed with the six different ballot forms. The envelopes were already addressed but had been shuffled about somewhat so that they were in no particular alphabetical or geographical order for the stuffing process. Thus it would appear safe to

TABLE 1. BALLOT FORM RETURNS

Ballot Form	Fo	F	$\frac{(Fo-F)^2}{F}$
1	72	58.34	3.20
2	44	58.33	3.52
3	71	58.33	2.75
4	73	58.34	3.68
5	32	58.33	11.89
6	58	58.33	.002
Totals	350	350.00	25.04

assume that the six different ballot forms were randomly allocated to the membership of the AAA.

In all, 534 ballots were mailed out. Three hundred fifty were returned. Except for chance variation, the expectation would be that equal numbers of each ballot form make up the 350 returned ballots. But such is not the case. The value of χ^2 obtained, with 5 degrees of freedom, in the analysis in Table 1 is significant beyond the .1 per cent level, indicating that the differences in returns of the ballot forms are statistically significant. The writer is at

	Form 1				Form 2				Form 3		
Fox	Smith			Fox	Smith			Fox	Smith		
Able	Baker	Charlie		Baker	Charlie	Able		Charlie	Able	Baker	
Brown	Howe	Zebra		Howe	Zebra	Brown		Zebra	Brown	Howe	
Blue	George	Jones		George	Jones	Blue		Jones	Blue	George	
	Form 4				Form 5				Form 6		
Smith	Fox			Smith	Fox			Smith	Fox	Baker	
Able	Baker	Charlie		Baker	Charlie	Able		Charlie	Able	Howe	
Brown	Howe	Zebra		Howe	Zebra	Brown		Zebra	Brown	George	
Blue	George	Jones		George	Jones	Blue		Jones	Blue		

The first row of names on each form represents the candidates for president; the second

loss to account for this difference in returns between ballot forms on "rational" grounds.

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[1] Since there were two candidates for one office and three candidates for each of the other three offices, there are 532 possible permutations of placement on the ballot, $(2!)(3!)^3 = 532$. To have prepared a different ballot form for each permutation was clearly not feasible.

TABLE 2. PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

	First Place		Second Place		
	Proportion of Returned Ballots	Vote	Proportion of Returned Ballots	Vote	Total Vote
Fox	.53	90 (87.45)	.47	75 (77.55)	165
Smith	.47	84 (83.19)	.53	93 (93.81)	177

* Figures in parentheses are theoretical frequencies.

Given this bit of "irrationality," an expectation based on "rational" voting behavior would indicate that each candidate receives a proportion of his total vote in each ballot position approximately equal to the proportion of times he occupies that position on the returned ballots. Mere visual comparison of the observed frequencies and the theoretical frequencies in Table 2 reveals that the anthropologists did indeed act "rationally" in voting for their president, i.e., the candidates did *not* receive a disproportionate number of votes when they were in first place on the ballot.

A bit of elaboration may be necessary to indicate how the theoretical frequencies were computed in order to take into account the "irrationality" indicated above. Since there were significant differences in the returns of the dif-

ferent ballot forms, a hypothesis of "rational" behavior is taken to indicate that a candidate will receive the same proportion of his total vote in a given ballot position as the proportion of returned ballots in which he appears in that given position. Thus, in the vote for president, Fox appeared in first place on 53 per cent of the returned ballots. Therefore, 53 per cent of his 165 votes are expected to have been marked on those ballots on which his name appeared first. Conversely, Smith appeared in first place on 47 per cent of the returned ballots, and his expected number of votes in that position is 47 per cent of 177.

Chi-square for Table 2 is computed in the ordinary manner as illustrated in Table 1. However, the number of degrees of freedom is 2 rather than 1; for the theoretical frequencies

TABLE 3.* VOTE FOR LESSER OFFICES

	First Place		Second Place		Third Place		
	Proportion of Returned Ballots	Vote	Proportion of Returned Ballots	Vote	Proportion of Returned Ballots	Vote	Total Vote
Able	.40	13 (18.80)	.37	25 (17.39)	.23	9 (10.81)	47
Baker	.23	42 (40.94)	.40	78 (71.20)	.37	58 (65.86)	178
Charlie	.37	45 (45.51)	.23	25 (28.29)	.40	53 (49.20)	123
Brown	.40	57 (56.80)	.37	58 (52.54)	.23	27 (32.66)	142
Howe	.23	25 (23.23)	.40	39 (40.40)	.37	37 (37.37)	101
Zebra	.37	32 (38.85)	.23	24 (24.15)	.40	49 (42.00)	105
Blue	.40	54 (50.80)	.37	49 (46.99)	.23	24 (29.21)	127
George	.23	21 (22.31)	.40	41 (38.80)	.37	35 (35.89)	97
Jones	.37	40 (44.03)	.23	30 (27.37)	.40	49 (47.60)	119

* Figures in parentheses are theoretical frequencies.

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1)   178

6)   123

0)   142

6)   101

7)   105

0)   127

1)   97

9)   119

0)

are not in this instance restricted by column totals. The χ^2 obtained from Table 2 is .173. Under the "rational" hypothesis, a value as great as or greater than this is expected between 90 per cent and 95 per cent of the time. The hypothesis cannot be rejected, and our visually indicated inference is statistically supported.

Since the office of president usually carries the most interest for voters, actual voting for this office is probably least likely to be affected by the ballot position of the candidates. It is for the lesser offices that the influence of ballot position might be expected to be operative to the extent that the final election results are affected.

Table 3 indicates the proportion of the re-turned ballots on which each candidate for lesser office appears in each position, the number of votes received in each position, and the number of votes expected if ballot position does not affect the number of votes received. Chi-square is computed as shown below.

The degrees of freedom associated with the chi-square in this case is 18, 2 for each row in the table; column totals are not restrictive. A value of χ^2 as large as or larger than that obtained above is expected about 75 per cent of the time under the "rational" hypothesis. Again it cannot be rejected; and again we have evidence that the anthropologists acted "ra-tionally"—as narrowly defined by the use of the term in this paper.

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(18.80-13)^2}{18.80} + \frac{(17.39-25)^2}{17.39} + \ldots + \frac{(47.60-49)^2}{47.60} = 13.93$$

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

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Official Reports and Proceedings 1952 Annual Meeting

The meeting will be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on September 3–5. Headquarters will be at the Hotel Ambassador, where excellent facilities for formal and informal sessions are available.

The following is a tentative list of sections, and of session organizers who have, in all cases, been asked to participate actively in these sessions and, wherever possible, to give one of the main papers:

Section and Organizer of Session

Studies of Planes and Levels of Living, Margaret Jarman Hagood

Community Studies (2 sessions), Edward Suchman

Studies of Acculturation, Ralph Beals

Studies in Consensus, Melvin Tumin

Studies in Stratification, (to be selected)

Studies of the Working Years, John Durand

Studies of Aging, Clark Tibbits

Studies of Marriage and the Family, Paul Glick

Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, Clyde Kiser

Sociological Aspects of Spatial Mobility, Donald J. Bogue

Studies of Behavior in Small Groups, Robert F. Bales

Studies of Political Behavior, (to be selected)

Studies of Crime and Delinquency, Thorsten Sellin

Sampling of Human Populations (Joint with American Statistical Assn.), Morris Hansen

Regional Studies (Joint with Population Assn. of America), Rupert Vance

The Implications of a Comparative Sociology, Ralph L. Beals

Topic to be arranged (Joint with the Rural Sociological Society), Charles E. Lively

Topic to be arranged (Joint with American Studies Society), Thomas C. Cochran

Report of Work Conference in Mental Health Research (sponsored by National Institute of Mental Health), Talcott Parsons

Contributed Papers (3 sessions), Edmund H. Volkart and committee

Instead of an annual dinner, there will be an informal reception on the evening of September 3rd. There will be a general session, organized by Donald Young, on "Sociological Research and Social Practice" on the afternoon of September 4th; and the Presidential Addresses of Dorothy Swaine Thomas, President of the American Sociological Society, and of Howard Beers, President of the Rural Sociological Society, will be given on the evening of the fourth.

Committee on Contributed Papers

The Committee on Contributed Papers, consisting of Harrington C. Brearley, Otis Dudley Duncan, and Edmund H. Volkart, Chairman, in collaboration with the Program Committee, is planning to make wide use of contributed papers at the next annual meeting of the Society.

In addition to the allocation of contributed papers to appropriate sessions, and to scheduling the papers on Current Research, the Committee is considering the feasibility of distributing, at the time of registration, mimeographed abstracts of highly specialized research. Interested persons and groups can then hold informal discussions with the authors of these papers at various scheduled times throughout the three-day period. Adequate facilities are available for such specialized discussions.

The Committee will review all papers sent to the Chairman prior to April 1, 1952, and will select those best suited to the general sessions or to the specialized ones mentioned above. Precedence will be given to reports of recent empirical research, and contributions of this nature prepared by student members and recent Ph.D.'s are welcome. Members who wish to submit papers are urged to complete them as soon as possible and to communicate with Edmund H. Volkart, Center for Field Studies, 20 Oxford Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Committee Membership

The composition of standing and other committees of the American Sociological Society

for the current year so far as has been arranged, is as follows:

Committee on the Bernays' Award

F. Stuart Chapin, *Chairman*
Robert N. Ford
Herbert Hyman
Paul F. Lazarsfeld
Frederick F. Stephan
Samuel A. Stouffer

Committee on Classification of Sociological Specialties

John W. Riley, Jr.
Maurice R. Davie
Kingsley Davis
Wellman J. Warner

Committee to Conduct Exploratory Investigation on Problems of Standards and Ethics

Alfred McClung Lee, *Chairman*
Gordon W. Blackwell
Kingsley Davis
Louis Wirth

Committee on Contributed Papers

Edmund H. Volkart, *Chairman*
Harrington C. Brearley
Otis Dudley Duncan

Committee to Cooperate with National Council for the Social Studies

Leslie D. Zeleny, *Chairman*

Local Arrangements Committee for Annual Meeting

George Huganir, *Chairman*

Membership Committee

Wellman J. Warner, *Chairman*

Committee on Publications

Jessie Bernard
Robert E. L. Faris
Alfred R. Lindesmith
John W. Riley, Jr.
Matilda White Riley
Dorothy Swaine Thomas
John Useem

Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries

Louis Wirth, *Chairman*

Committee on Research

Raymond F. Sletto, *Chairman*
J. William Albig
Delbert C. Miller
Daniel Price
Anselm Strauss
Fred Strodtbeck

Committee on Social Statistics

P. K. Whelpton, *Chairman*
Margaret Jarman Hagood

Representatives to Other Organizations

Elbridge Sibley, American Documentation Institute
Mapheus Smith, Dewey Decimal System
Peter Lejins, American Prison Association

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. The next Congress of this organization will be held in Vienna from September 1st to 8th 1952. Correspondence may be addressed to the Secretary, Wilhelm Koppers, Institut für Völkerkunde, Neue Hofburg, Corps de Logis, Vienna I., Austria.

The membership fee is Austrian schillings 200.— or $8.—. It covers various scientific tours and social functions. All members will receive a copy of the Proceedings. A member may register up to 2 members of his family as associates. The fee for Associate membership will be 100 Austrian schillings or 4 dollars. Associates may attend the meetings, excursions and receptions, but may not speak or vote, and they will not receive the Proceedings.

Members who intend to submit papers may send in the titles to the Secretary. Except in special cases, the time allotted to every paper will be twenty minutes, plus another ten minutes for discussion. Members should state whether they will require a projector and indicate the size of their slides or films.

Apart from anthropological and ethnological subjects in the strict sense, papers may deal with questions of applied ethnology, demography, sociology, psychology (as referring to ethnological problems), science of religion, linguistics, folklore, prehistory, paleo-ethnology, origin and distribution of cultivated plants and domesticated animals.

Federal Security Agency. Recent additions to the field staff of the International Vital Statistics Cooperative Program include Dr. Joseph A. Cavanaugh, formerly of Western Washington College and the University of Washington, Mr. John W. Morse, formerly in the Division of Venereal Disease, U. S. Public Health Service. They will be assigned to Latin American countries.

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The Civil Liberties Research Award, a $1000.00 United States Government Bond, will be presented by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues to the individual who submits the most promising plan for research in the field of civil liberties. The recipient of the award will be expected to carry through the proposed research as soon as possible after granting of the award. This award has been made possible by a gift to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues by the Edward L. Bernays Foundation, through Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations, a member of SPSSI. Presentation of the award will be made at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association in September, 1952.

Any research proposal submitted to the committee of judges not later than March 15, 1952, will be eligible for consideration. Individuals wishing to enter research outlines are urged to do so as far in advance of this closing date as is feasible.

The intention of the award is to stimulate research, rather than to reward research already completed, so that research projects which might not otherwise be possible may be undertaken.

The committee of judges is composed of Professors Hadley Cantril, Wayne Dennis, Franklin Fearing, Ernest Hilgard and Gardner Murphy. Five copies of each entry should be submitted to the Chairman, Professor Franklin Fearing, Department of Psychology, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. Entries should not exceed ten double-spaced typed pages in length.

Any correspondence, other than entries, should be addressed to Mrs. Helen S. Service, Assistant Secretary, SPSSI, Department of Psychology, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Bates College. Anders M. Myhrman, Professor of Sociology, has been appointed Head of the Division of the Social Sciences. New appointees to this division are Douglas E. Leach as Instructor in History, Ernest P. Muller as Instructor in History and Government, Charles H. Miller, Jr., as Instructor in Economics, and Elliott M. Rudwick as Instructor in Sociology. A Sociology Club has also been organized.

Boston University. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Boston University announces the appointment of Dr. Luke N. Smith as Visiting Assistant Professor of Sociology for the academic year of 1951–1952. Dr. Smith replaces Assistant Professor T. Scott Miyakawa, who is spending the year in travel and study in Europe under a Ford Foundation fellowship. In addition to carrying courses in Sociological Theory and the Sociology of Industry, Dr. Smith is developing his special field of interest through a graduate seminar in the Sociology of the Professions.

Mr. Alvin Zalinger, a graduate of Boston University and a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at Columbia, has been appointed full-time instructor in the Department.

Dr. Stanley Wronski, who this fall joined the faculty of the School of Education, is offering a seminar in American Social Institutions, the subject

of which this year is "The Sociology of the American Educational System."

Brooklyn College of the City of New York. Associate Professor Willoughby Cyrus Waterman is spending his sabbatical leave from June 1951 to September 1952 as a Fulbright Professor of Sociology at the University of the Philippines, Manila. His address is: U. S. Educational Foundation, American Embassy, A.P.O. 298, c/o Postmaster, San Francisco. He is teaching courses in criminology and general sociology.

Assistant Professor Marion Cuthbert is devoting her sabbatical leave from June 1951 to September 1952 to creative writing. She is located at Plainfield Star Route, Plainfield, New Hampshire.

Assistant Professor Samuel Koenig has returned to the campus from a year's research in Israel. His project was underwritten by a sabbatical leave and by a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

Jerome Himelhoch and Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., have received their Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University and have been given regular instructoral appointments in the department. S. M. Miller has received his Ph.D. degree at Princeton University and is continuing as a Lecturer in the department. He continues to be released from part of his teaching schedule to serve as the Executive Secretary of the Integrated Social Science Program in the College of Liberal Arts.

Dr. Simon Marcson is organizing a community laboratory for the department and is also teaching related courses. Professor Marcson was on special assignment during the summer with the Population Division of the United Nations. He has continued to serve in that capacity in completing his study of the Demographic Problems of Underdeveloped Areas.

Part time visiting professors and the seminars they offered in the Graduate Division during the fall semester 1951 are: William Spencer Bernard, Executive Director, Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons, "Minority Groups in the United States"; Charles Garabed Chakerian, Hartford Seminary Foundation, "Culture and Personality"; Stanley Hastings Chapman, University of Bridgeport, "Sociology of Education"; George Simpson, City College, "The Modern Family". In addition, Assistant Professor Rex D. Hopper offered a seminar in "Social Factors in Deviant Behavior", and Professor Alfred McClung Lee offered "Mass Communications" and "Culture and Personality".

Mrs. Sylvia Rohde Sherwood has joined the department as a Lecturer. She is also continuing her work in two juvenile delinquency research projects at New York University.

Mrs. Sylvia Fleis Fava, formerly of Queens College and Northwestern University, joined the department staff at the beginning of the 1951 Summer Session. She is also engaged in research dealing with the associative patterns of suburban residence.

Bryn Mawr College. Eugene V. Schneider is now a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Frederica de Laguna is the head of the department. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology offers an undergrate major, as well as graduate work leading to the master's and doctor's degree. A fellowship is available for a woman graduate student, and students may compete for several graduate scholarships.

Florida State University. The third annual European field course on Marriage and Family Life, sponsored by the National Council on Family Relations, the State University of New York, and the Florida State University, is scheduled for July 13 to August 26, 1952, New York to New York. Inquiries may be sent to Professor M. F. Nimkoff, The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, who will direct the study tour.

Ivan D. Steiner, Ph.D., has joined the staff as Assistant Professor of Sociology. Dr. Steiner was formerly an Assistant Study Director of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Professor Howard C. Busching returned to his duties at the University on June 15 after a year's leave of absence for advanced graduate study at Columbia University and the Philadelphia Marriage Clinic.

Professor Dean Johnson is on leave for the academic year of 1951–52. He has a fellowship at The Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas. He is studying in the Marriage Counseling Program recently inaugurated under the direction of Dr. Robert Foster.

Dr. John R. Crist, who received his doctorate in sociology at Missouri in August, is filling Professor Johnson's place during the academic year of 1951–52.

During the summer of 1951 Professor Edwin R. Hartz was at Duke University working on his dissertation.

Professors Lester S. Pearl and Joseph Golden received their doctorates in sociology from North Carolina and Pennsylvania respectively at the June convocations.

Miss Dixie B. Jones joined the staff of The School of Social Welfare on September 1, 1951, as Assistant Professor. She has had wide and varied experience in social work and came directly to the University from the Family Service Society in Atlanta, Georgia. Miss Jones holds graduate degrees in sociology from Emory University and in social work from Tulane University.

Professor William L. Leap and Professor Gordon J. Aldridge are conducting studies in St. Cloud and Winter Park, Florida, communities in which there is a large proportion of people in the older ages.

Professor John Benjamin Beyrer has been elected President of The Florida Federation of Social Workers for 1951–52.

Miss Mildred Sikkema, Executive Secretary of the National Association of School Social Workers conducted a three-week workshop for visiting teachers during the 1951 summer session.

Harvard University. The Fall meeting of the Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion was held at Harvard University on Saturday, November

3rd. Research papers were presented at the afternoon session, and the meeting was concluded in the evening with a round table discussion of approaches to the scientific study of religion from social anthropology, social psychology, clinical psychology, and sociology. Participating were Professors M. Opler of Stanford University, and G. W. Allport, R. McCann, and T. Parsons of Harvard. The date for the Spring meeting was set for Saturday, April 26th, at Harvard. Qualified social scientists with empirical research who would like to apply for a place on the program should write immediately, giving a full description of their work, to the Chairman, Professor Talcott Parsons, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass. Prospective members should write Prof. J. Paul Williams, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

University of Hawaii. "Industrial Sociology in Hawaii," Volume 15 of *Social Process in Hawaii*, was recently published by the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii. Dr. Herbert Blumer, who was visiting professor during the academic session of 1950–51 when this issue was planned, contributed an article on "Paternalism in Industry." Other articles by staff members are: "Hawaii's Industrial Revolution," by Dr. Bernhard L. Hormann; "The Changing Position of Domestic Service in Hawaii," by Dr. Andrew W. Lind; "Changing Ideas of Success and of Roads to Success as Seen by Immigrant and Local Chinese and Japanese Businessmen in Honolulu," by Dr. Clarence E. Glick and five students, Leonora Nishikawa, Sau Lin Wong, Annette Shigezawa, Ethel Godfrey, and Lois Sandhusen; and "Unionization and the Plantation," by Kiyoshi Ikeda, graduate assistant in sociology. "The ILWU as a Force in Interracial Unity in Hawaii," was contributed by David E. Thompson, Educational Director in the Honolulu headquarters of the ILWU, and "Labor—An Undercurrent of Hawaiian Social History," by C. J. Henderson, Vice President of Castle and Cooke, Inc. Copies of this volume, at $1.00 each, may be obtained from the Sociology Club, University of Hawaii, Honolulu 14, T. H.

Mr. George K. Yamamoto, instructor in sociology, is on leave of absence for the academic session, 1951–52, to continue his graduate studies at the University of Chicago. Mr. Harry Ball, formerly an instructor at the University of Minnesota, is replacing Mr. Yamamoto as instructor in the Department.

Dr. Kimball Young, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University, will be a visiting professor during the summer session of 1952.

University of Illinois. Under a grant from the Ford Foundation, the University of Illinois offers to promising students of the behavioral sciences the opportunity to secure specialized research training in various aspects of the study of human personality. The program provides graduate fellowships and post-doctoral fellowships for qualified individuals who wish to prepare for research careers in this general field. The opportunity for training will include participation in research projects, attendance

at research seminars and informal association with members of the research staff. The principal disciplines participating in the program are cultural anthropology, education, psychology, and sociology. The purpose of the program is training of research personnel and the improvement of research methodology in the sciences concerned with personality development and dynamics, including socialization, behavior disorders, and psychotherapy.

Several fellowships are available to graduate students. The initial stipend for the academic year is $1,200. *Each student will be expected to associate himself during the year of his fellowship with a member of the staff engaged in research in personality.* This staff member will have the responsibility of helping the student plan his academic program for the doctorate and especially of providing him with an opportunity to participate according to his stage of development in ongoing research to the end that he acquire not merely the research skills but also the grasp of problems and the motivation to guarantee his continuation in a research career.

A limited number of post-doctoral fellowships are available to promising young scientists, with annual stipends ranging from $4000 to $5000. The special research of a post-doctoral fellow may be done in collaboration with other members of the staff, or he may work on an individual project. So far as possible, fellows will be given the opportunity to participate in interdisciplinary research programs.

All fellows appointed under this program will participate in a special research seminar, together with members of the staff with whom they are associated. The seminar will afford opportunities for interdisciplinary discussion of theory and methodology in the study of personality, as well as for exchange of ideas among individuals cultivating different approaches within a single discipline.

An application blank and additional information will be sent on request. Appointments may be made at any time during the year. Inquiries should be addressed to Professor J. McVicker Hunt, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. A special interdepartmental committee exercises general administrative supervision over the program. The fields of cultural anthropology, education, psychology and sociology are represented on the committee.

Indiana University. The Department of Sociology has established an Edwin Sutherland Memorial Fund for the purchase of books and journals for the department reading room. Students, colleagues, and friends of the late Professor Sutherland are contributing to the fund.

Karl Schuessler, Alfred Lindesmith, and Albert Cohen are collecting and preparing for publication some of the papers of Professor Sutherland. These writings, many of them previously unpublished, are to be presented in a single volume.

John Mueller has returned from a European tour which extended from England to Turkey.

Clifford Kirkpatrick, department chairman, has been elected chairman of the Research Committee on Marriage and the Family of the National Coun-

cil on Family Relations. Dr. Kirkpatrick was elected vice president of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society at this year's meetings which were held at Indiana University.

Sheldon Stryker, a full-time teaching fellow in the department last year, has been promoted to the rank of instructor.

Erwin Smigel was a lecturer on Industrial Sociology at the United States Steel Workers Institute held at Indiana University. Dr. Smigel is currently offering a new course in Occupational Sociology.

Dinko Tomasic has returned to the university following a sojourn in Europe in connection with his position as a Research Director for the Human Resources Research Institute of the Air University, United States Air Force. Dr. Tomasic is now conducting an interdepartmental seminar on Eastern European Cultures.

Alfred Lindesmith has returned from the University of Southern California where he was a visiting professor last year. Dr. Lindesmith was Visiting Lecturer in Social Psychology at the University of Pittsburgh during the summer session.

The following persons, all of them formerly graduate students in the department, have been appointed to the faculties of the institutions indicated: Carl Backman, University of Arkansas; Raytha Yokely, Fisk University; James Hughes, University of Kentucky; Ray Jeffrey, Colby College; Arthur Kline, Western Colorado State Teachers College; James Turner, Indiana University Extension at Jeffersonville.

Harry Elmer Barnes, visiting professor in the department last spring, has returned to his home in Cooperstown, New York to continue his research and writing.

Iowa State College. New instructors, research assistants and associates on the sociology staff include Charles S. Chandler, M.A., Southern Illinois University, Norman B. Cleary, B.S., Iowa State College, George A. Freeman, M.S., Kansas State College and Dwight M. Ransay, M.A., University of New Mexico.

Dr. Ray Wakely has been granted six months leave and is assigned to work with the FAO under the Expanded Technical Assistance Program as a resource person in rural sociology for Brazil. His specific duty is to train members of the Ministry of Agriculture in sociological approaches to rural problems, methods of conducting surveys, and other techniques of social research. Paul Jehlik, on loan from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, is directing migration seminars in Dr. Wakeley's absence.

Iowa State College will be host to the annual meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society with Don Fessler in charge of arrangements. The student section is to be handled by Robert Dimit.

Current research at Iowa State emphasizes the following areas: Farmer cooperatives—member and community relations; Social stratification; Migration; and Levels of Living.

Dr. Walter Lunden has completed research on "Socio-Legal Norms of Delinquents and Non-

delinquents," and "Altruism and Antagonism Among Prisoners."

Dr. J. B. Gittler is supervising a project sponsored by The National Conference of Christians and Jews on the possibilities of intergroup education in extension in the United States. Charles Robbins and Dr. Gittler have completed their research on "The Awareness of Prejudice."

A recent visitor to the department has been Finn Isaksons of Denmark, who has spent six weeks with members of the department surveying teaching and research methods in sociology and seeking new approaches which he might apply in sociological and related research in Scandanavia.

Northwestern University. Northwestern University on November 23, 1951 announced the names of the one hundred persons who will receive 'Centennial Awards for the Northwest Territory" at its Centennial Convocation in Evanston on Sunday afternoon, December 2.

The Centennial Awards will be given to the one hundred recipients in recognition of "the impress they have made upon their generation during a lifetime of distinguished service as residents of one of the states which comprised the original Northwest Territory."

These states include Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Northwestern's link with this territory arises from the fact that the founders named the University after the Northwest Territory.

Nominees for Centennial Awards were selected on the basis that they must be living, they must have achieved prominence in one of the states mentioned, and they must have made "a substantial contribution to society." Among the recipients is William Fielding Ogburn.

University of Minnesota. Professor F. Stuart Chapin, chairman of this department since 1922, has relinquished his administrative duties in order to concentrate upon research and writing. Dr. Chapin will spend the month of December 1951 in Paris as consultant to UNESCO, which is planning to establish an International Social Science Research Center in Paris. Dr. Chapin will advise UNESCO on the organizational plans for the two International Agencies to promote and coordinate social science research on a world wide basis for the scientific study of problems of human relations.

Arnold Rose holds a Fulbright appointment for research in France and is attached to the University of Paris during this academic year. He is the second member of the department to receive a Fulbright grant to that country: Theodore Caplow recently returned from a year of teaching at the Universities of Bordeaux and Aix-Marseille. Dr. S. Kirson Weinberg of Roosevelt College has assumed the courses in social psychology and group relations during the absence of Professor Rose.

Nicos N. Mouratides has been promoted from teaching assistant to instructor. Russell Middleton, Alvin Boderman, George Helling and June Sachar have been newly appointed as teaching assistants.

The Office of Naval Research has granted funds for two research projects in the general area of individual and group behavior. The studies are under the direction of Professors Chapin, Monachesi, and Rose, with Mr. Reginald Robson serving as project supervisor with an appointment as Research Fellow.

Professor George B. Vold has been appointed by Governor Elmer C. Anderson as chairman of a special committee to survey the adult penal system of the State of Minnesota and to prepare recommendations on basic policy. The other members of the committee are Professor Monachesi and Professor Starke Hathaway of the Department of Psychiatry.

Mississippi State College. Marion T. Loftin, assistant professor, has completed all the work for the doctorate at Vanderbilt University and will receive this degree at the first commencement held in 1952. Professor Loftin's thesis is entitled "The Japanese in Brazil: A Study in Immigration and Acculturation." He spent 10 months in 1948–49 doing the field work.

D. W. Rivers, assistant professor, has been given a half-time extension appointment. He will provide the major leadership for the program in extension rural sociology. An important phase of this work is the Church and Community Conference. The third annual conference was held July 17–19 with five workshops on the church and community problems and special lectures. Approximately 300 persons were in attendance.

The Department of Sociology and Rural Life is associated with other social science departments of the College in the Social Science Research Center. Harold F. Kaufman, head of the Department, is associate chairman of the Center. Its functions are (1) to promote research of an interdisciplinary nature and (2) to serve as a clearing house for social science activities.

William P. Carter, professor, is serving as program chairman of the Southwest Conference on Family Life and is a member of the executive committee of the Mississippi family life program.

Harold A. Pedersen has been promoted from assistant to associate professor. He is now preparing manuscripts on a study of mechanization and farm labor adjustments. Field work for this study was conducted in a delta and hill county of the state.

Recent publications prepared by members of the department include four reports on the health practices and use of medical services in each of four Mississippi counties, two short articles on population changes, and an extension bulletin on community development in the state.

Wayne University. John Biesanz has been appointed associate professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and director of the interdepartmental offerings in social science in the College of Liberal Arts. Edward C. Jandy is on leave as a Public Affairs officer of the U. D. Department of State in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Thomas Y. Crowell Company is planning a book of

readings under the editorship of Edgar A. Schuler, in association with Maude L. Fiero of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Wayne University, and two former colleagues at Michigan State College, Drs. Duane L. Gibson and Wilbur Brookover.

Wayne University has received a grant of nearly $8,000 from the Health Information Foundation of New York City to investigate the effectiveness of a public relations program initiated in May, 1950 by the Academy of Medicine of Toledo and Lucas County. The study was directed by Drs. Schuler and Mayer of this Department, and Dr. Robert Mowitz, of the Department of Public Administration, of Wayne University. A preliminary report was submitted to Health Information Foundation on August 1 following six weeks of intensive field work. The final report is now being prepared and publication by the Health Information Foundation should take place early in 1952. Edgar A. Schuler is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Highland Park Council of Social Agencies; a member of the Research Committee of the Detroit Metropolitan Area Planning Committee, and a member of the Executive Board of the Detroit Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. He is also presently the sociology representative on the Family Life Project of the University. Stephen C. Cappannari is the anthropology represenative on the same project.

Frank Hartung, as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Michigan Corrections Commission, has prepared a 50 page report for the Michigan State Legislature on the subject of Capital Punishment. In this connection he has also recently visited the Joliet-Stateville Farm and the Menard prison in Illinois, as well as the Florida State Prison, and he has testified on penal legislation before the Ohio State Judiciary Committee.

The National Institute of Mental Health made a grant of $7,472 to Wayne University to continue the study of "Cultural and Psychiatric Factors in the Mental Health of the Hutterites" under the direction of Joseph W. Eaton. Dr. Eaton is also a member of the Committee on Psychiatry and Social Science Research of the Social Science Research Council, and Chairman of the Housing Committee of the Detroit Citizens Housing Planning Committee.

Stephen W. Mamchur, as executive secretary of the Michigan Council on Family Relations, has arranged the annual meeting of the organization at Wayne University last May, and the workshop last September. He is a member of the Program and Educational Committees of Cornelian Corner, and member of the Board of the Monteith Preschool Cooperative. Albert J. Mayer has directed two research projects dealing with nationality groups in Detroit in connection with the city's 250th Anniversary Festival. He is also conducting a study of "Population Characteristics of the Detroit Metropolitan Region" for the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission.

New part-time instructors in the Department include: Robert A. Harper, Chairman of the Family Life Department, Merrill-Palmer School; Maurice Floch, psychologist of the Detroit House of Cor-

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rection; Joseph Fauman, of the Jewish Community Center, and Clarence Anderson, recently on the staff of Pennsylvania State College.

The following have left the Department: Florian Znaniecki, who has returned as Professor Emeritus at the University of Illinois; Manzer John Griswold, who has returned to the University of Washington; Luke Mader Smith, who has joined the staff of Boston University; and Peter Blau, who has a position at Cornell University. Harold Sheppard has returned from his summer's position as Associate in the Program Division of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, and has been appointed assistant professor.

University of Wisconsin. With the death of Edward A. Ross on July 22, 1951, founder of the chair of sociology and from 1929 to 1937 Chairman of the Department, a memorial committee was appointed to consider in what ways the department could best honor its founder. The recommendations of the committe, with particular reference to the many former students of Ross, will be announced in the next issue.

Himself a former student of Ross, Professor Emeritus John L. Gillin has been called back, ten years after his retirement, to offer a year's graduate seminar in the history of theory of social disorganization. The department had a birthday party celebrating Professor Gillin's eightieth birthday. Professor Gillin still arrives at the department on a daily schedule earlier than other members, and is so eagerly delighted by the return to the affray that it makes the writing of his present book on personal and cultural insecurity easier.

Professor Howard Becker has returned to the University after having been on leave to the University of Birmingham under a Fulbright appointment. *Social Thought from Lore to Science* is being brought out in a new edition with special emphasis on a review of American and world sociology from 1937–1950, to be published by the Harren Press with Becker and Barnes as co-author. Professor Becker has also authored "German Families Today", in *Germany in World Affairs*, edited by Hans J. Morgenthau. In a memorial volume for Leopold von Wiese, with Karl Specht as editor, Professor Becker has contributed the chapter, "General Aspects of Sacred and Secular Societies." While in Europe, Professor Becker carried on a study of British Socio-Cultural Regions while Mrs. Becker conducted a study of Hessian Villages.

Professor McCormick, chairman of the department, has been appointed chairman of the American Sociological Society's new standing committee on Training and Professional Standards. His study of political participation and leadership in Madison. Wisconsin is now in the final stage of analysis.

Professor Marshall E. Clinard participated again in the Yale University School of Alcohol Studies seminar, lecturing on "The Role of the Tavern in Contemporary Society." He is continuing his research project in this area, now in its fourth year.

Mr. Morris attended the SSRC Seminar on Status and Stratification at Ohio State University. Dr. Simon Dinitz, formerly research assistant in the Tavern Study is now an instructor at Ohio State University. Mr. Herbert Menzel, teaching assistant, is now an instructor at Carleton College. Mr. Chester Hartwig, also on the teaching staff, resigned to take an assistant professorship at Alabama Polytechnic.

Professor Bertram Fisher, the new staff member on an interdepartmental basis, will offer courses in sampling procedures and polling techniques with major emphasis on development of co-ordinated, interdepartmental research in the Social Sciences.

BOOK REVIEWS

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Readings in Labor Economics and Industrial Relations. Edited by JOSEPH SHISTER. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1951. x, 661 pp.

Labor and Industrial Relations, A General Analysis. By RICHARD A. LESTER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1951. x, 413 pp. $4.25.

Some sociologists may feel that these two books, by economists, are unworthy of attention by our fraternity. However, there are data and insights here for the growing numbers in our group who believe that study of behavior in industry by students from a variety of social disciplines will give more fruitful results than the various ethnocentric efforts have done heretofore. Both authors, and especially Lester, favor a broad approach.

Shister's book consists of about one hundred selections from approximately 60 authors. The writers are largely academic, but include union and management representatives. The readings are divided into five sections with subtopics.

Section one, "The American Working Class," includes Slichter's (who contributes roughly 10 per cent of the readings) old but worthy definition of the labor problem. Bakke discusses the "Working Class," and Centers writes on "Class Structure in America."

Section two, "Trade Unionism," deals with the growth, structure and government, objectives, and political activities of unions, and includes a paper on "Unionization of the White Collar Worker." The papers on "How and Why Unions are Organized," "Ideology and the Unions," "Bureaucracy and Democracy in Labor Unions," and "American Labor in Politics" can hardly be outside the interests of sociologists.

Section three covers collective bargaining under several topics. Such issues as whether unions are profit-making or political institutions are discussed. The controversy over management prerogatives and union aims in sharing managerial functions is presented. Slichter discusses the problem of setting up flexible rules to minimize the effects of inevitable social change, while G. W. Taylor weighs the consequences of bargaining inside governmental supervision.

Employment security is the subject of section four, which includes papers on the nature of full employment, and on the control of employment and general unemployment. The issue of technological unemployment is analyzed in opposing papers, as in the dispute over guaranteed wages and employment.

In the final section, "Income and Leisure Activity," opposing views of the socio-economic effects of minimum wage legislation are given with other papers on old age and survivor's insurance, etc.

Shister unifies the readings with lucid introductory comments.

This collection will be particularly helpful to sociologists who wish an acquaintance with the less technical analyses and arguments of economists as advanced in this field chiefly during the last decade.

Lester's approach stresses analysis. Part one, entitled "Analytical Foundations," draws considerably on materials from psychology, sociology, and political science in discussing the motivation of workers and management (chap. 2). He also evaluates methods of industrial research. (pp. 8–18)

Some sociologists will argue with his sources and interpretations on topics such as "Differences in Attitude between Economic Classes" (pp. 27–29), but there is no gainsaying many of his insights and judgments. "Industrial relations, which are so peculiarly human," he says, "do not lend themselves to nice, neat solutions. In our complex world, the logically perfect answer often fails to work satisfactorily in concrete situations." (p. 18) And, concerning cooperation between union and management,

> Experience seems to indicate . . . that intelligent supervision and good human relations on the job pay off in production results. . . . One should, however be careful not to exaggerate the possible areas of mutual interest and common objective. It is certainly naive to assume that if both parties could only understand each other's aims and attitudes, or had the proper personal morality, then industrial peace and harmony would prevail. (p. 36)

Part two covers collective bargaining in several compact chapters. Lester evaluates time study, union policy and technological change, management in theory and practice, etc., with sensitivity to nonwage factors unusual in an economist.

Regarding unions as an aid to capitalism (pp.

192, 399), he marks the limitations inside which students of industry must work: " . . . It may be possible to blur somewhat the conflicts of interest generated by the position of manual employees in the enterprise, [but] the fundamental fact of the priority of non-employee purposes in the firm cannot be eradicated by industrial relations techniques or programs." (p. 196)

Lester makes a comparative analysis of bargaining in the fields of coal, clothing, automobiles, and railroads. The section is concluded with (a) an appraisal of the criteria for determining "good" industrial relations; (b) a sidelight on the difficulties facing inter-disciplinary research teams; and with (c) comments on the problem of weighing the relative influence of political, economic, psychological and sociological influences in labor relations. He also offers a definition of "union-management cooperation," and some shrewd judgments on the limitations of such cooperation.

Part three includes discussions of labor legislation, political action, etc., and an attack on the view that unions are monopoly sellers of labor.

The final section integrates concepts developed through the book, and discusses the alternatives to current collective bargaining.

Lester's multivariate approach will offend those who regard their single discipline as a "queen of the sciences," but his efforts and similar work by other students may well lead to development of concepts more relevant to this area.

MELVILLE DALTON

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Industrial Relations and the Social Order (Revised Edition). By WILBERT E. MOORE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951, xiii, 660 pp. $5.00.

The new edition of Moore's text retains the organization and most of the content of the original. A chapter on the aged in industrial societies and one on the stability of the industrial system have been added. Minor additional changes have been made throughout to bring the text and references up to date.

Complete revision of the chapters on labor organization and union-management relations is the main feature of the revised edition. As Dubin first pointed out, the earlier edition reflected an implicit bias towards regarding unions as "foreign bodies" in American industrial society, rather than as an integral part of the industrial structure. The bias has been eliminated from the new edition, and a well-balanced and scholarly treatment of union-management relations is the result.

Such biases are the bane of industrial sociology, and during the past few years there has been a good deal of soul-searching on this account. It is greatly to Moore's credit that he has been searching his own work for bias, as well as the work of other contributors. Along with self-correction goes a critical analysis of the Mayo school, the school of "cow-sociology" as Daniel Bell has called it. Again to Moore's credit, he does not join that chorus of cow-sociology critics who use as weapons another branch of the same science, namely, tool-sociology: the conception of social scientists as tools of—or means to be manipulated by—reactionary forces. Moore's critique is phrased in terms of the Mayo group's lack of sociological and methodological sophistication.

In the revised edition, Moore takes pains to disassociate himself from the Mayo school outlook. Some changes appear to have been made mainly for purposes of disavowal. For example, a section in the original edition entitled "Personnel Workers," which examines the case for regarding personnel work as a tool of paternalistic management, is replaced in the new edition by a section entitled "Managerial Sociology" which examines the case for regarding training in human relations as a tool of management in competing with unions for worker loyalty. In my opinion the work suffers a little from this careful hand washing. I find it difficult to account for the scarcity of references to the research of such workers as Whyte, Arensberg, and Homans. Is the omission an oversight, do their contributions add nothing to the sum of industrial sociological knowledge, or is their brand of industrial sociology not respectable? The great advantage of a broadly sociological approach to industrial relations lies in its insistence on tracing the consequences of action throughout society, thus serving as a powerful corrective for the myopic vision of those who keep their noses too close to the daily interpersonal events of the factory. Their findings need re-interpretation in the light of a general sociological perspective, and to judge by the broad comprehension and able analysis which characterize Moore's text, no one is better equipped than he to make the needed assessment.

Criticizing a book for what is not in it is not entirely to the point. As for what *is* in the book, I can find little to criticize. It is, in my opinion, an excellent piece of work, and remains the best text in its field.

HERBERT A. SHEPARD

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Domestic Control of Atomic Energy. By ROBERT
A. DAHL and RALPH S. BROWN, JR. New
York: Social Science Research Council, 1951.
iv, 117 pp. $1.00.

This report, part of the on-going program of
the Committee on Social Implications of Atomic
Energy and Technological Change of the SSRC,
is an attempt to relate the problems of nuclear
development in this country to the governmental
and administrative framework within which
these problems occur. Specifically, the authors
examine phases of American domestic control
of atomic energy operations which invite re-
search by social scientists, report research com-
pleted or under way, and suggest feasible and
rewarding areas for further study.

By training and intent the authors are led
to stress a group of problems which are of
primary interest to students of public administra-
tion and of political and legal theory, problems
involving the relations of the Atomic Energy
Commission with its advisory groups, Congres-
sional committees and Congress itself, the Presi-
dent and his staff, the Armed Services, the pub-
lic, private enterprise and, specifically, contract
operators. Appraisal of such relations is sug-
gested as a means of determining the relative
efficiency of existing public policy arrangements
as compared with possible alternatives. What
makes their suggestions of unusual worth is the
fact that they stem from a thorough examina-
tion and analysis of the operations of the AEC
as revealed in official documents. Consequently,
in their catalog of existing and potential research,
the authors present an informative account of
the organization and policy orientation of the
Commission.

It appears essential for social scientists to
acquire just such information, not only on the
control problem but on other aspects of the
development and potential consequences of
nuclear energy, if the relatively few studies
which have been undertaken thus far are to be
increased. Many suitable research opportuni-
ties have been overlooked owing to erroneous
assumptions that (1) most needed data are
classified, and (2) only physicists, chemists,
mathematicians, and engineers are capable of
understanding problems of atomic energy. Many
kinds of questions—for example, the impact of
atomic power on urbanization or industrial loca-
tion, or the extent and causes of apparent pub-
lic apathy toward controls over atomic develop-
ment—are not questions for physical scientists
at all but ones for answers to which the latter

must necessarily turn to political scientists,
sociologists, and economists. Since in many cases
no assistance has been forthcoming, physical sci-
entists have had to deal with areas of knowledge
in which they are themselves untrained, or do
without.

It may help to maintain perspective if sociol-
ogists view atomic development as an aspect of
technological development. In this framework
nuclear energy loses much of its esoteric char-
acter and suggests a variety of hypotheses of
interest to any student of social change or social
organization. While certain kinds of data remain
either restricted or unknown, there is a steadily
mounting volume of official literature and a gen-
eral willingness on the part of the AEC to assist
in the dissemination of all possible information.
The Commission itself might well consider stim-
ulating social science research by writing con-
tracts with universities and individual scholars as
it now does in the physical and biological sci-
ences. A catalog of the latter takes no less than
19 pages in its *Major Activities in the Atomic
Energy Program, January—June, 1951.*

VINCENT H. WHITNEY

Brown University

The Social History of a War-Boom Community.
By ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST and H. GERTHON
MORGAN. New York: Longmans, Green and
Co., 1951. xix, 356 pp. $4.00.

This case study of a rural village that became
a small industrial city overnight is a microcosm
of the urbanization of rural society accelerated
by a war effort. It is "an account of what hap-
pened to the people and the institutions of a
small American town as it went through an in-
dustrial boom." (p. xi)

When World War II began, Seneca (an actual
community, but a fictitious name) was just an-
other rural village in the midwest, with about
1,200 inhabitants. Seneca had been a boom town
once before, but for fifty years prior to World
War II it had had a stable population. It reached
a peak war population of about 6,500. The boom
came to Seneca because the navy needed LST's.
It was chosen because of its river location and
the available man power within commuting
distance. The peak labor force at the shipyard
was 10,600. In all 27,000 people were hired to
maintain a labor force that averaged about 9,000.

The impact of the boom was felt in every
area of Seneca's life. New workers were brought
into town or commuted from nearby communi-
ties. Housing had to be provided when private
business could not meet the crisis. There was
constant friction between the local, federal, and

company housing agencies. A new community feeling had to be aroused. Widespread disparities in the economic, social, and moral behavior of the residents made it difficult to carry on a successful community life.

Newcomers and oldtimers had previously been living different kinds of lives. The newcomer was brought to the community by motives of high income and patriotic duty. They were democratically jumbled in the housing projects. With little or no difference in the rents, and people living in the same kind of housing regardless of income or social status, conflicts arose. A top company executive might be living next-door to an apprentice fitter. People at the bottom of the social heap lived wherever the accident of their arrival placed them, and might be found next-door to the people of the "better-class." Social status differences were always being observed; they could not go unnoticed. Oldtimers in Seneca tended to forget their own differences and to feel as though they all belonged together when they faced the hoard of strangers moving in upon them.

The overall picture was one of minimal social interaction between oldtimers and newcomers. The main thing that they had in common was the use of the business facilities in old Seneca. Aside from the churches, none of the old Seneca organizations took newcomers in freely, and only a small proportion of the newcomers went into the old Seneca churches.

The authors think of the social classes of old Seneca as existing side by side with those of the newcomer group, and not as merged with the new group. While the newcomers lived differently from the oldtimers of the same social class, still they shared most of the same value patterns and attitudes. The large majority of newcomers were Midwesterners; only about 15 per cent had come from the southern states.

The small town had to establish institutions befitting an industrial city. Throughout the whole of its prewar life Seneca had relied upon its churches for making it something more than a cluster of houses with people living in them. The majority of the shipyard workers went unchurched. The churches served those who wanted to be served and in ways to which they were accustomed. The patterns of the old Seneca churches persisted, but new churches were organized to serve the newcomers.

Government in Seneca passed rapidly from the hands of a village council and board of supervisors into a complicated set of relationships that involved local, federal government,

company, and U. S. Navy officials. The old government structure was not adequate for the new boom community.

The schools were largely affected in the elementary grades. High school enrollment increased somewhat, but not in proportion to the large increase in the elementary schools. Efforts to build recreation programs met with indifferent success.

Most of the changes were brought about by outside pressure from agencies that tried to help Seneca meet the needs of its newcomers. There were many material improvements made in the town's facilities, but in the opinion of Havighurst and Morgan, Seneca was very little changed by the war-boom. The shipyard workers came when there was demand for their labor, and left quickly after the last LST started its journey down the river. The community emerged from the boom relatively unchanged, still clinging on to familiar characteristics of a midwestern rural town. The boom was an urban graft on rural stock. If the community had stabilized itself under the boom-town conditions, it might have become quite a different town. Instead of being a midwestern trade-centered village, it would have taken on the characteristics of a working class suburb of a big city.

As a contribution to our understanding of the boom-town community, this is a worthy addition to an accumulating literature. Had the authors depended upon secondary data only, the wartime boom in Seneca would not have been recorded as thoroughly for sociological literature. For example, the 1950 census indicates that Seneca has about 200 more inhabitants than it had in 1940.

This study will be of interest to both rural and urban sociologists, for while it does not make a special contribution to social theory, it is cast in a theoretical framework that helps the reader understand the rift between the provincial small town in America and the metropolitan community. Problems arising from rural urban differences in attitudes are discussed and illustrated. Many of the difficulties that arose in Seneca stemmed from the fact that a rural community was suddenly operating toward the achievement of urban goals, and under the direction of urban thinking.

The book is recommended for supplementary reading in rural and urban sociology courses, and for researchers who are interested in the dynamics of modern community living.

SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD, JR.

The Pennsylvania State College

The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method. Edited by DANIEL LERNER, HAROLD D. LASSWELL with the Editorial Collaboration of HAROLD H. FISHER, ERNEST R. HILGARD, SAUL K. PADOVER, ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL, C. EASTON ROTHWELL. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951. xi, 344 pp., $7.50.

Since the title of this book is a mysterious one and since the authors and their topics are numerous, some specification of the content of the 344 large double-column pages is necessary. Part I on "Scope and Focus" contains contributions by (1) H. Lasswell ("The Policy Orientation"), (2) E. R. Hilgard and D. Lerner ("The Person: Subject and Object of Science and Policy"), (3) E. A. Shils ("The Study of the Primary Group"), (4) Margaret Mead ("The Study of National Character"), (5) Clyde Kluckhohn ("The Study of Culture"), and (6) H. D. Lasswell ("World Organization and Society"). This part deals with subject matter that will be already familiar at least to most social scientists. Part II, "Research Procedures," contains first-rate contributions by (7) Hans Reichenbach ("Probability Methods in Social Science"), (8) K. J. Arrow ("Mathematical Models in the Social Sciences"), (9) Paul Lazarsfeld and A. H. Barton ("Qualitative Measurement in the Social Sciences: Classification, Typologies, and Indices"), (10) A. Bavelas ("Communication Patterns in Task-Oriented Groups"), and (11) H. Hyman ("Interviewing as a Scientific Procedure"). Part III on "Policy Integration" contains contributions by (12) G. Katona ("Expectations and Decisions in Economic Behavior"), (13) R. Likert ("The Sample Interview Survey as a Tool of Research and Policy Formation"), (14) H. Speier ("Psychological Warfare Reconsidered"), (15) D. M. Whittaker ("The Natural Sciences in Policy Formation"), and (16) R. K. Merton and D. Lerner ("Social Scientists and Research Policy"). This book is the first full-length volume of the Hoover Institute Studies, a project devoted to the study of changes in society since 1890. The research was made possible by a grant of the Carnegie Corporation to the Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution, and Peace.

"The policy sciences," says Lasswell, "include (1) the methods by which the policy process is investigated, (2) the results of the study of policy, and (3) the findings of disciplines making the most important contributions to the intelligence needs of the time" (p. 4). Since this may include any or all sciences, I think a better title of the book would have been "The Role of the Sciences in Public Policy."

In fact, I hope the term "policy science" will not come into general usage for it will merely operate further to confound an already confused situation, namely, the absence of a clear understanding among scientists as well as the general public as to when a scientist is speaking (a) strictly in his capacity as a scientist, (b) as an engineer or social worker, and (c) simply as a citizen utilizing such technical knowledge and prestige as he possesses to influence other people and events in the direction he wants them to go. I suspect that a good "policy scientist" may turn out to be merely a person who is as confused as possible as to when he is functioning in each of these roles. Thus, we find in an otherwise valuable chapter (by Hilgard and Lerner) the following:

"The psychologist does not wish to provide tests that are used in the support of school practices which he does not approve; the social anthropologist does not wish to improve factory morale so that workers can be exploited by management; the economist does not wish to make his predictions solely for the benefit of large investors who can thereby profit from his knowledge. Instead, the scientist likes to see himself playing a role at the point at which policy decisions are being made" (p. 41).

There is no question that the scientist can and should play *a* role at the point at which policy decisions are being made. The question is *what* role. The scientist may properly at this point explain what the facts are, what his tests can do, and he may even indicate the costs and consequences of various proposed policies if this happens to be within his field of competence. But when the psychologist confuses the problem of formulating valid and reliable tests with questions of whether these tests will be used, for example, to segregate the feeble-minded, the retarded, or any other group, to which "discrimination" the psychologist happens to be opposed on democratic grounds, he is guilty of precisely the confusion outlined above, which may operate to the vast disrepute of psychology as a science. The same goes for the anthropologist, the economist, and the sociologist, in comparable situations.

I have always strongly defended the right of social scientists, as citizens, parents, and progressive educationists, to have opinions and feelings about the relative desirability of some school practices, etc. For them to attempt to pass off these tastes of theirs as in some manner dictated by science is clearly the result of confusion, or worse. If the phrase "policy sciences" and "policy scientist" is designed to enable people who occasionally or principally do scientific work to perpetrate the hoax that

therefore their personal preferences on public policy are scientific conclusions, I pronounce the attempt a fraud on the body politic. We need no special category of "policy scientist" to fulfill any legitimate desire of social scientists to feel significant on the policy level. Physicists, chemists, and biologists have been confronted with precisely the same question. Some have solved it by becoming primarily engineers, physicians, and public health officials. All of them have reserved their right *as citizens with special knowledge, techniques, and prestige,* to influence public policy without pretending that their views as to what should be done were dictated by science.

It is difficult to say much about a book like this as a whole, because it is essentially a series of essays, each calling for individual review. To be sure, they are all related in a sense to the common and thoroughly sound idea that the makers and executors of public policy greatly need the technical advice from a variety of scientists on (1) "a clarification of goals, (2) an exhaustive evaluation of the situation to be met, (3) the selection of a course of action by weighing the probable consequences of various alternatives, and (4) the determination of optimum means for carrying out the action decided upon" (ix, Foreword, by C. E. Rothwell). "Recent experience," says Rothwell, "particularly during and since the war, has demonstrated that reliance upon techniques and substantive contributions of these sciences diminishes the policy makers errors of judgment and gives greater assurance that the course of action decided upon will achieve the intended goals." If the author of the Foreword has in mind, as he probably does, certain subsidiary policies facilitating the prosecution of the war and the subsequent demobilization, such as those derived from the studies of Stouffer and Leighton, there is excellent ground for citing these as examples. In other places, however, the book broadly suggests that the same may be said also of the larger aspects of foreign and domestic policy of the last two decades. Thus, Lasswell finds the Roosevelt administration "a brilliant success in the sense that a far-reaching economic crisis was met by policies which were far short of the authoritarian measures of the Fascist or Communist state" (p. 9). It remains a fact that the NRA was modeled upon Italian Fascism and was declared unconstitutional by a unanimous Supreme Court. There is, furthermore, a sharp difference of opinion as to the extent to which the economic crisis was "met" by this and other policies in question. The various nostrums tried merely resulted in the collapse of 1937 after which

the good old remedy of international war, ostensibly for the defense of our firesides and the extermination of evil, was adopted and has been continued to date. The full bill for this policy is not yet in, but the evidence is that the result will not reflect great credit upon most of the social scientists, if any, who were engaged to "weigh the probable consequences of the policy adopted." The fact, I suspect, is that only those whose "weighings" consisted chiefly of hope, hunch, and hysteria, were allowed to influence policy. It would, in fact, be difficult to find a more striking example of the failure of the policies adopted to achieve the intended goals.

It is doubtless and regrettably true that some social scientists were among those who so grossly misevaluated the "probable consequences of various alternatives," but it is also true, and I think social scientists had better take advantage of this fact, that the chief policy-maker for the period in question paid not the slightest attention to "policy" or any other sciences when factual findings conflicted with his hunches. As one admiring professor reports in a recent laudatory article: "Roosevelt was always a pragmatist playing by ear, as he liked to say, his improvisations controlled, not by logical analysis nor by an explicit moral code so much as by a consistency of emotion and instinct" (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Harper's* Magazine, June 1950). I suppose the classic case in point was when he told Bullitt: "Bill, I don't dispute your facts; they are accurate. I don't dispute the logic of your reasoning; I just have a hunch that Stalin is not that kind of a man." This state of affairs is perhaps representative of the degree to which facts, expert advice, and scientific evaluation characterized *major* policy decisions "during and since the war" as well as during the preceding decade. More comprehensive data on the point will be found in books like George F. Kennan's *American Diplomacy, 1900–1950.*

The criticized expressions of opinion by members of the editorial staff should not be held against the excellence of many of the individual contributions and especially should not be allowed to detract from its basic premise, namely, the urgency in the future of consulting competent scientific authority regarding the probable costs and consequences of proposed public policies, large as well as small. It is especially appropriate, for this reason, that this volume should come out of the Hoover Institute, for Hoover was, I believe, the first President since Jefferson with more than rudimentary scientific training and with more than a superficial understanding of the role of science in human affairs.

It was the Hoover Commission, also, which recommended (1949) the establishment of a Science Office in the State Department (pp. 280–81).

The Policy Sciences will be valuable in informing political and civic leaders of the kind of services which the social sciences especially are now prepared to furnish, in carrying out policies already adopted as well as in the formulation of new policies. There is a good bibliography and a poor index.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG
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Personality and Government. By LAURA THOMPSON. Mexico, D. F.: Ediciones del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1951. xviii, 229 pp. $2.00.

In 1941 Dr. Laura Thompson was named coordinator of a project known as the Indian Education and Administration Research. This project was initiated by the United States Department of the Interior and the Office of Indian Affairs. For three years the research was carried on under a contract with the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago. When the Committee on Human Development withdrew, similar arrangements were made with the Society for Applied Anthropology. According to Dr. Thompson, the project grew out of the feeling that United States Indian Service administration and policy should be guided by a knowledge of what was happening to the personalities of Indians under the impact of modern American culture. To find this out scientists from a number of disciplines (cultural anthropology, psychiatry, psychology, education, public administration, economics) made an intensive study of eleven Indian communities in five tribes over a six-year period. Personality studies of over a thousand Indian children were completed.

In this final report Dr. Thompson offers a history of the project and of the development of its methods, a resume of the findings for four of the five tribes studied (the Navaho, Sioux, Papago, and Hopi; the results of the work at Zuñi are not yet published), a series of recommendations for the U. S. Indian Service, and a concluding chapter on the contribution of the research project to the progress of science. Nearly three-fourths of the study is taken up with summaries of books on the Navaho, Papago, Hopi, and Sioux which have grown out of the project. While these summaries are useful for those who do not have the time or professional need to read the full reports, they present nothing new.

Dr. Thompson does claim novelty, however, for certain "methodological assumptions" to which the research group came. To use her own words: "First, it became apparent that, in order to meet the administrator's need for enlightenment on his practical problems, *the scientist's frame of reference had to be as broad and multidimensional as that in which the administrator operated. . . .* The dynamic socio-personality systems had to be placed in culture-historical co⸳⸳⸳⸳t, in geographic setting, and in acculturation perspective, if the life needs and values of the individual personalities and the tribal groups in the changing modern world were to be understood. . . . The problem of the present research in its second phase, therefore, became that of *defining the physical, biological and psycho-cultural resources and needs of the groups-in-environment under investigation, and of the individuals within them viewed as dynamic personalities-in-cultural-context, and of suggesting how the Indian Service may increase its effectiveness, through long-range policy and program, in helping to conserve those resources, meet those needs, and nurture those personalities.*"

According to Dr. Thompson, this formulation of problem is quite different from that common among applied anthropologists, whom she describes as content to manipulate human relations within existing authority structures, and whose efforts, she believes, tend to perpetuate the existing power structure. Actually, this reviewer knows of no serious and sustained study in acculturation or applied anthropology that does not take into consideration the very elements which Dr. Thompson deems important and which does not call for some modification of the system of power and authority. Most applied social scientists will probably feel that Dr. Thompson's contribution is less unique in content than in respect to the length of the words employed and her daring development of the use of the hyphen.

Nevertheless, Dr. Thompson is convinced that when it dawned upon top Indian Service officials who came into office after her husband, John Collier, resigned as Indian Commissioner in 1945, that this was action research with implications for the reorganization and decentralization of Indian administration, they decided to jettison the study rather than make any adjustment in their own practices. Research personnel and facilities were curtailed and the project was formally terminated in 1947. And, instead of carrying out policies pointed to by the research (the use of natural groupings for local community organization; emphasis on field service rather than hospitals in medical work;

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the keeping in mind of culture and attitude when economic programs are framed; the interpretation of education more broadly and in the interests of the total community; the decentralization of the Indian Bureau; etc.), the Office of Indian Affairs has embarked, she says, upon a program of bureaucratic control having for its purpose the forced assimilation of the Indians.

In the last, theoretical section Dr. Thompson speaks of six interdependent sets of variables relevant to the solution of any welfare problem: the ecologic, the somatic, the sociologic, the symbolic, the personality, and the core values. No clear idea is given about how to quantify, relate, or utilize these variables, though there are some hints concerning the separate "evaluation" of each of them for a given community. This seems to be a fancy way of saying that in attempting to solve any general problem of a human group, one should not neglect what is to be learned from a knowledge of the natural setting, the physical, social organization, religion and art, the socialization process, and the attitude and value system. It is obvious that Dr. Thompson is avid for a holistic rather than an analytic approach to human problems. But we still need to be told what new techniques she and her co-workers on the project have developed for discovering and expressing "the inner relationships between the many relevant parts of an intricate whole in process of formation, . . ."

MORRIS EDWARD OPLER

Cornell University

The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization. By LESLIE A. WHITE. New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1949. xx, 444 pp. $6.00.

The volume before us is largely a reprint of papers and addresses published and prepared over a period of years. Unlike similar ventures, the author did make some effort to eliminate duplication and overlapping and otherwise give the volume the appearance of organic unity and continuity.

The book, though entitled "The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization," is really a polemic directed against all who are not yet ready to submit to the author's affirmations that anyone who will not dispense with God, anthromorphism, and anthropocentrism in human affairs and embrace scientific materialism and determinism is beyond saving, if not actually a *Dummkopf.* There could be differences of opinion on that score. Anyhow, such an attitude hardly fits the occasion, and just annoys.

The argument begins with the assertion that every living thing must adjust to its environment to survive and reproduce its kind. In man this adjustment is carried on by means of symbols, making cooperation and an extended collective life possible. In the course of time this symbolic process and the cooperation which it engenders eventuates in a temporal continuum of knowledge, skills, customs, beliefs, and the like, as well as in artifacts which come to embrace man as an environment. There thus emerges with the advent of man a class of events of extra-somatic nature whose function it is to make life secure and continuous for groups of human beings. The fact that this is so produces a distinct field of interest not embraced by any of the extant sciences. To delimit that field of study and distinguish it from psychology and sociology, the author proposes the term culturology.

The culturologist is a practitioner of science. He begins with things as they are, just as does the biologist for example. He observes how the metabiological events, called culture, are passed from one generation to the next by the mechanism of social heredity—how they interact with one another, with the result that some parts are dropped out, others conserved, still others modified, and others added. The nature of this process, he avers, produces a result, an effect, which is temporal-formal in nature, eluding human control and direction. The temporal-formal aspect of this process is determined by the progressive improvement in technology in terms of the energy which is made available to peoples and the forms through which this energy is expended. The progress of technology is in turn conditioned, better, "contained," by corresponding sociological and ideological systems.

Space limitations do not admit the development of the numerous issues presented in this argument. Only one can be mentioned, and that because Professor White seems to think that he has written "The Great Panacea." He contends that the culturological explanation is superior to the biological and psychological in accounting for man in his present sorry estate, and offers a culturological interpretation of incest as a demonstration of this contention.

Professor White's account of the "cultural origin" of incest is based on two assumptions: (a) That the struggle for existence is as severe among man as among lower animals. (b) That from psychology we learn that the human animal tends to form sexual unions with individuals close to him. Several inferences are then drawn: First, that the struggle for existence can be mitigated at the human level through

the enlargement of the family group and so extend the range of mutual aid and cooperation. Second, this desideratum can be attained through compelling individuals to seek mates from other family groups than their own. Ergo, the "function" or "reason" of the incest taboo is clear: "exogamous rules were formulated in order to make cooperation compulsory and extensive, to the end that life be made more secure" (p. 329).

The reader is, of course, admonished not to take statements like this literally. It is all just a manner of speaking. It really happened "as crystallizations of processes of a social system," not as "products of individual psyches" (p. 318). Somehow with the advent of speech there were added to the sexual and reproductive functions of the family nutritive and protective functions, and a way was found in incest prohibitions to put them to work. There is, obviously, not a shred of historical evidence for any of this, but if anyone has doubts let him look about and he will see that things are just as they are supposed to be. Marriage and the family everywhere wear an economic aspect. The families of the married pair are bound together by ties of economic interest. To take only our own culture, is not the economic basis of marriage and the family made plain in breach of promise and alienation of affection suits, suits for non-support of dependent children, property settlements and alimony in divorce?

The plain fact is that inferences drawn from some of the observed effects of the working of an institution in a given present is not the equivalent of writing a culture history. Logically it is true to say, as St. Augustine does, that when a man has both a father and a father-in-law his community of interest extends farther than if his wife were his own sister. But then to add, as Professor White does, that we also have here in some way an account of the *cultural origin* of incest is an altogether different matter. That is not explaining culture in terms of culture. It seems to this reviewer that the late Clark Wissler had a better insight into the scope of culturology when he proposed that the anthropologist stick to the study of culture.

JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

Indiana University

Cruz das Almas: A Brazilian Village. By DONALD PIERSON, with the assistance of LEVI CRUZ, MIRTES BRANDÃO LOPES, HELEN BATCHELOR PIERSON, CARLOS BORGES TEIXEIRA, and others. Washington: Smithsonian Institution (Institute of Social Anthropology Publication No. 12), 1951. x, 226 pp. $1.50.

This publication is a report on research conducted in Brazil by Donald Pierson and his associates at the *Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política* of São Paulo in a joint program with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. According to the author "the primary objectives of this program are the training of local research personnel in social science methods and techniques, partially in the classroom but more especially in the field" (p. v). In order to fulfill the above objectives, a field study was made in a rural community which the author believes to be fairly typical of most of rural life in Brazil. *Cruz das Almas,* a fictitious name given to the village which was selected for study (p. vii), is located near the Tietê River in the western part of the state of São Paulo. The village itself had a population of 331 persons at the time of the survey in 1948. It is the center of a *distrito* which contained 2,723 persons in 1940. This latter area, in the author's opinion, roughly coincides with the boundaries of the local community (p. 22).

The study is introduced by several short paragraphs concerned with the historical background of the community. The main body of the study which follows is divided into two general sections entitled "The Ecological Base" and "Society and Culture." In the first part, the author deals with habitat, population, and techniques of subsistence. The latter section is devoted to a consideration in the order named of isolation and contact; language; etiquette; the family; *compadrio* (godparent relationships); ritual, ceremony, and belief; political behavior; race relations; conflict; solidarity; humor; proverbs, epigrams, and common sayings; social change; and social disorganization. A bibliography, glossary of Portuguese terms, and index follow the main body of the study. Twenty pages of photographs are added at the end of the publication. These pictures illustrate landscapes, roads, and paths; village scenes; persons; housetypes and construction; occupations; agriculture; basketry; transportation; tools and equipment; churches and chapels; ritual, ceremony, and belief; marriage; baptism and burial; and leisure-time activities.

The general approach to the analysis is that commonly used by cultural anthropologists, i.e. much of the study is concerned with detailed descriptions of artifacts, techniques, customs, habits, rituals, and beliefs, with only secondary emphasis on the structure and function of social institutions and the character of the social processes. In other words, it deals more with descriptions of material and non-material culture than with the organization of society itself. Personal observations and interviews were used to obtain most of the information for the study, and schedules were taken which provided data

for the demographic analysis of the population.

In the section of the study entitled "Society and Culture," the author discusses family and religious institutions in some detail and a few pages are devoted to political behavior. However, for some undisclosed reason, the educational system is neglected. The economy of the community is considered in the first section under the title "Techniques of Subsistence." The various social processes are treated only casually or as part of discussions dealing with more general aspects of society. As a whole, however, the study gives an excellent description of the way of life which prevails in rural Brazil.

Community studies such as this have become quite common in the United States, but they are almost non-existent in Brazil. For this reason, the work of Pierson is of great significance. When one recalls that at least three-fourths of the Brazilian people follow a rural way of life, the importance of analysis of the rural community becomes apparent. Personally, the reviewer knows of no other such study in the English language, and only one in the Portuguese language (Emilio Willems, *Cunha, Tradição e Transição em Uma Cultura Rural do Brasil,* São Paulo, 1947). A series of such studies will provide a basis for a more adequate understanding of the typical Brazilian—the rural man.

PAUL H. PRICE

Louisiana State University

Recent Migration to Chicago. By RONALD FREEDMAN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951. xix, 222 pp. $6.00.

This book presents an analysis of Census data on migration in the period 1935 to 1940, including a special tabulation, for combinations of Chicago census tracts, that was purchased by the Chicago Census Advisory Committee. It is adapted from the author's doctoral dissertation.

Freedman first examines differentials according to migration status in the city as a whole. All of the available cross-classifications of demographic, social, and economic characteristics with migration status are analyzed. With respect to many characteristics, all types of migrants were differentiated from nonmigrants in the same direction. Except for those from rural farms, migrants did not conform to the stereotype of a depressed social-economic group but, on the contrary, held a position of relatively high status in the city. Migrants were also found to have the characteristics of the "ideal-typical" urban dweller.

Jane Moore's "Theory of resembling environ-ments," which was developed from a study of Swedish migration data, is confirmed here only in part. This theory states that the more closely the cultural level of the place of origin resembles that of the urban destination the better adjusted and more typically urban the migrants will be. But it was not the migrants from urban areas who most closely resembled the non-migrants. It seems to the reviewer that more light would have been shed upon these relationships had the author also examined the characteristics of the general population at the origins of the various migrant streams. Referring to urban, rural-nonfarm, or rural-farm residence as "cultural level" seems an example of the unfortunate practice of identifying a specific trait with a more general sociological phenomenon of which it is only a partial index. (Cf. R. C. Angell's "The Moral Integration of Cities.")

The analysis in this section and elsewhere makes due allowance for the biases in the basic data, which are explicitly described. There are also creditable attempts to allow for the contribution of age to the differentials. In most cases the social and economic characteristics were not cross-classified by age.

The author is not consistent in the use of two of his terms. Persons who moved within the city are variously called "intra-city migrants" and "nonmigrants." "Mobility" is distinguished from "migration" on page 3 and defined in terms of changes in experience and social situation, but on page 14 "mobility" is used to denote changes in spatial location as well. It would seem simpler to use "mobility" as a generic term comprising both spatial and social movement.

The section on the selective distribution of migrants within the city represents the major contribution of this study. Migrants of every type were found to be concentrated in a "Migrant Zone" located around the main rapid-transit routes and characterized by "typically urban" living arrangements. The migrants tended to be distributed within the city on the basis of their characteristics in the same manner as the nonmigrants, however. Freedman gives a satisfying explanation of this paradox. The data do not provide any direct evidence on the motivation of migrants in seeking out the migrant zone. Freedman draws on the literature and suggests that migrants are attracted by "the maximum of freedom from family or neighborhood social controls and a minimum of responsibilities or possessions tying the individual to his home" that exist in this area. A more matter-of-fact explanation in terms of

the living accommodations that are most readily available and most suited to the age, family status, and economic resources of the migrants would seem equally plausible. It will be possible to examine the main hypothesis of the Migrant Zone on the basis of 1950 Census data for 67 tracted areas. Thus it can be found whether migrants in other cities tend to be concentrated in a distinctive zone.

The two concluding sections deal respectively with the relationship of migrant distribution to social disorganization and with Negro migration differentials. The Migrant Zone is considerably more extensive than the central area of disorganization. Intercity mobility correlates positively with several indices of social disorganization, but there is relatively little relationship between the latter and in-migration to the city. In this analysis, the author exposes a basic inconsistency in the use of the concept of mobility in urban sociology.

The length, paper binding, and offset printing of this book do not seem to justify the price, even when allowance is made for the large amount of tabular material. There is no index. On the content side, however, this study is a valuable contribution to quantitative sociology, providing well-reasoned evidence on previously speculative questions. It is well organized and has convenient summaries of the findings. The reviewer could discover only a very few errors of fact.

HENRY S. SHRYOCK, JR.
U. S. Bureau of the Census

The Genesis of Georges Sorel: An Account of His Formative Period Followed by a Study of His Influence. By JAMES H. MEISEL. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The George Wahr Publishing Company, 1951. 320 pp.

Georges Sorel, Prophet without Honor: A Study in Anti-Intellectualism. By RICHARD HUMPHREY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951. 246 pp. $4.00.

Seldom does posterity testify to a past writer's timeliness by such a striking coincidence. Simultaneously two books become available, both claiming to be "the first full-scale study of Sorel in English." Fortunately their approach and style are different, thus providing jointly a thorough analysis of Sorel who has frequently been called one of the fateful ideology-generators of this century.

Both books tend toward a use of metaphors and to approach Sorel with aesthetic categories. Meisel, for instance, tries to interpret the "meaning of violance" through an analysis of modern opera. (pp. 128–34) Both authors avoid linking Sorel with totalitarianism. (Meisel, p. 173; Humphrey, p. 21 ff.) Consequently, these careful studies may help to modify the previous notion of Sorel as a direct and genuine forerunner (and causative factor) of Eurasian dictatorships since the 'twenties. Though Humphrey's portrait of Sorel is, generally speaking, more sympathetic, both authors seek primarily for the positive and lasting points in Sorel's incoherent, even chaotic work. There is little criticism on principle.

Both books quote extensively from Sorel's works and letters, thus making available to the English reader for the first time a great number of his original statements. Humphrey writes in the solid, essayistic style of a historian. There is more description than analysis in his work, and the notes, mostly of a bibliographical nature, are placed at the back. Six compact chapters deal with Sorel's moral philosophy, the pluralist world (approached from pragmatism and Marxism), the ideology of the middle class, and syndicalism. Meisel, on the other hand, pays little attention to the philosophical aspects. His pincette-like analysis is concerned with Sorel's politics, the details of his late emergence as a political writer, and in Part II, with his influence. A supplement studies the "great companions" of Sorel: Croce, Pareto, Mosca, Michels. Finally, fourteen pages are devoted to a very useful selective bibliographical chronology.

On the basic question of just how much credit and promise Sorel gave to the proletariat, the authors differ somewhat in their interpretation. Sorel departs most radically from Marxism in his view that new legal (and ethical) concepts and standards must be worked out prior to the victory of socialism, and that it takes a rejuvenated class (not classless) society to achieve this. But, according to Meisel, despite a temporary disappointment with the proletariat degenerated to political bargaining techniques, Sorel had not lost his faith in the Heroic Proletarian. Humphrey, on the other hand, doubts that Sorel—even in the period of high syndicalism—believed in the divinity of the proletariat.

Sorel seems to have been unaffected by eschatological considerations. For him the myth of socialist violence should serve as an ethical corroboration now. There is no predetermined end. Within certain bounds man has, in Sorel's theory, a real freedom in creating social "forms of a validity peculiar to himself" (Humphrey, p. 168).

HELMUT SCHOECK
Fairmont State College

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Social Problems. By W. WALLACE WEAVER. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1951. viii, 791 pp. $5.00.

In this textbook, Weaver's ". . . selection and organization of the materials are largely products of experience in teaching social problems for some twenty-eight years, measured and tempered by the cross currents of evidence." The approach is an adaptation of the familiar pathology tradition, which notes that life in the contemporary United States is beset by many ills, that these ills have complex ramifications and causes, and that cures for these ills must strike at the causes rather than merely ameliorate the symptoms. In his first three chapters he indicates his concept of the nature and scope of social problems. He argues that a social problem, defined as ". . . any condition that causes strain, tension, conflict, or frustration and interferes with the fulfilment of a need," has its causal explanation in three elements taken together—social change, culture lag, and social disorganization. He proposes in subsequent chapters to treat each of a number of social problems, focussing on the nature of the ". . . social problem, its extent and ramifications, its causes, some of the collateral effects, and specific remedies."

Problems treated according to this scope-cause-cure outline include: disaster, disease, disability, death, physical handicap, mental deficiency, mental disorder, drug addiction, gambling, alcoholism, prostitution, crime, family discord and dissolution, illegitimacy, dependent children, minority groups, urban congestion and housing, poverty, unemployment, old age, and war. He points out that the ". . . social problems that must be omitted far outnumber those that can be included, . . ."

Weaver writes well. His chapters are coherent and well documented with carefully worked materials from a wide range of disciplines. His accounts or remedial programs provide useful summaries, with evaluations made by practitioners in the several applied fields and by himself.

But in the judgment of the reviewer, this kind of textbook and the kind of course it represents have serious limitations. In the first place, the definition of social problems encompasses subject matter without limit, from soil erosion to humidity, from gnats to the operations of holding companies. The result of such catholic coverage tends to become an *omnium gatherum* of all kinds of economic, political, social, psychological, psychiatric, social work, medical, demographic, geographic, anthropological, biological, and meteorological matters, which have little

but their *de facto* problem character in common. Since no one person is likely to be professionally competent in all these fields, uncritical dependence is likely to be put on "authorities" or amateur observations on subjects outside one's specialty. Although Weaver briefly develops in his early chapters a change-lag-disorganization hypothesis of social problems, he does not develop it systematically, nor test it in any but an incidental way in his subsequent chapters. He justifies this lack of an integrated frame of reference: "Less emphasis has been given to theoretical or systematic treatment of problem situations in general than certain other authors have professed to do, partly because many teachers will prefer to offer their own framework of reference and partly because students find prevailing hypotheses confusing or obscure."

In the second place, value judgments are intermingled with empirical data and their interpretations throughout the work, without any systematic explication of the author's value referrents. In his evaluations of the relative merits of various remedial programs, he does not make explicit the goal-value assumptions involved. This form of implied cultural absolutism is likely to defeat a primary objective of most courses in sociology when it undercuts the concept of cultural relativism.

DAVID B. CARPENTER
Washington University

Elements of Sociology. By DON MARTINDALE AND ELIO D. MONACHESI. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. xi, 724 pp. $5.00.

Sociology: An Introduction. By JOSEPH S. ROUCEK AND ROLAND L. WARREN. Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1951. x, 275 pp. $1.25.

If one might modify and invert an old aphorism, it would be appropriate to remark that "Of the making of introductory sociology texts, there should be an end." Certainly this sentiment is pertinent to one of the latest tomes (by Martindale and Monachesi) which attempts to "focus on the major concepts" of the field of sociology by trying to answer the questions: "What is sociology? How does it conduct its business? How is it related to other fields? What are its most important concepts? How adequately do these concepts apply to the actual world of social experience?" After 669 pages of text divided into six major parts: The Nature, Scope and Methods of Sociology, The Contributions of Other Sciences to Sociology, The Analysis of Society, The Analysis of Social Persons, The Analysis of Institutions and Social Structure, and Social Dynamics—subdivided into 24

chapters plus two appendices—one wonders if sociology is meant to be introduced in the second year of graduate school or if introductory sociology is meant to be synonymous with a two-year course in general education in the upper division.

Expanding upon some excellent criticisms of introductory sociology texts made recently by Prof. Haridas T. Muzumdar ("The Teaching Sociologist's Frame of Reference," *Amer. Soc. Rev.* 16 [Oct. 1951], pp. 713–718), this writer strongly feels that introductory texts should (1) be readable and comprehensible to the lower-division student; (2) concentrate on the basic concepts employed in the field; (3) avoid all so-called related materials when those materials can be introduced later; (4) leave the student with a feeling that here is a unique and functional science (avoiding, of course, that horrible word "applied science," unworthy of sociology); and (5) eschew the interminable and ponderous reference to footnote minutia. If one can visualize some of the better basic texts in physics, geometry, biology or anthropology, he can readily see how thoroughly lost some sociologists have become in the forest of pedantic pseudo-scholarship. In fact, one wonders how the poor student, who is interested both in the factual trees and in a path through the sociological forest, ever survives to take a second course in sociology.

On the credit side of the generalized—indeed, encyclopedic—approach, one might mention the vast panorama of interesting materials dealing with the development of sociology, the major figures in historical sociology, the relation of sociology to other disciplines, and the elements of scientific method. On the debit side, however, one might question: Why three whole chapters (90 pp.) on the contributions of biology, geology, archeology and ethnology, comparative psychology and linguistics? Can't these materials simply be woven in wherever appropriate—if they are? Would most sociologists agree that social ecology should be "deliberately omitted" and demography treated "only in a most cursory fashion," whereas sacred and secular personality types require two whole chapters (70 pp.)? Excluding pointless cartoons and the two detailed but confusing appendices on sociological instruments and the experimental design, one is mystified by authors who write for introductory students (after two whole chapters, 50 pp.), that social change is still a "riddle," and yet ". . . we do know that any change in the social actions of men creates problems" (p. 600). In short, one begins to wonder at the sad state of academic sociology when, after all these years, the concept of the introductory course should become so obscured and perplexingly distorted.

It is refreshing, therefore, to turn to a succinct college outline of introductory sociology by Roucek and Warren. Whatever the inherent weaknesses of such a device—and the reviewer is not trying to make a case for the use of outlines—at least here in a pocket-size booklet one can find a workmanlike synthesis of the "essentials" of sociology, all cross-referred to the appropriate sections found in fifteen basic texts published within the past five years. Also included are chapters on Branches of Sociology and Fields of Special Interest, Some Men Who Influenced Sociological Theory, Opportunities for Majors in Sociology and Social Work, and a glossary of about 250 terms.

In fact, a prefatory remark by these authors might well serve as the yardstick for future basic texts in sociology, to wit: that such texts should become "well thumbed and frequently and readily consulted." Can this be said of most of our texts today? The obvious answer should stay the hands of prospective writers in introductory sociology.

CARLO L. LASTRUCCI
San Francisco State College

Preparing for Marriage: A Guide to Marital and Sexual Adjustment. CLIFFORD R. ADAMS. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1951. 256 pp. $3.50.

This volume was apparently not intended to compete as a text at the high school or college level and therefore should not be judged by the same standards. A revision of the author's earlier book, *How to Pick a Mate*, it is written in an interesting style, contains frequent anecdotes and excerpts of case-history material, provides a guide to self-scrutiny, and abounds in "good advice." The usual topics having to do with dating and dating problems, premarital sex problems, selection of a mate, traits to consider for a happy marriage, etc., are discussed.

At the risk of quibbling, certain reservations might be stated about this book. As in much journalistic writing, there is a frequent tendency to overstate and to imply that THESE ARE THE FACTS, whereas more cautious authors would use better qualified statements. On the jacket of the book, in the preface, and at various points in the text, the impression is given that this book makes use of the available research in the field. Although the author refers to his own investigations and lists Terman in the index, comparatively little of the current research is worked into the book or even men-

tioned, except in a brief bibliography in the appendix. The index contains no reference to Burgess, Wallin, Davis, Hamilton, Kirkpatrick, Winch, Bernard, or Locke, to mention a few whose studies would have been used in any serious attempt to base a book on research findings. There is undoubtedly a place for a non-technical book of this kind, but an objection may be raised against creating the impression that the book is based on research findings when so few of them are used.

Throughout the book there are short tests from which the reader can supposedly obtain the answers to such questions as, "Are you a career women?" (page 21), "Are you grown up emotionally?" (page 42), "Are you too inhibited?" (page 58), and "Are you emotionally responsive?" (page 69). To take a typical example, the test on pages 49–50 is titled "Are you ready for married love?" and includes twenty-four brief items. The reader is told how to score the test and is given the following interpretation: "Did you have twenty or more 'correct' answers? If so, you are probably in love. If you did not, you should be skeptical until you receive further proof." It is apparent that Adams is attempting to measure rather complicated variables with extremely crude techniques. While it is not within the scope of this book to explain how the tests were constructed or validated, since some readers may base important judgments on the results of such tests, the wisdom of giving score interpretations is open to serious question. However, if the single items are studied, along with other questions to be used for self-analysis, this book may benefit those persons looking for a guide to the things they should think about and talk over with a prospective mate before marriage.

CHARLES E. BOWERMAN
University of Washington

Methods of Social Welfare Administration. THE UNITED NATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS. New York: The United Nations Department of Social Affairs, 1950. vi, 299 pp. $2.50.

Among the promising studies of our times are the reports of the Department of Social Affairs of the United Nations. The Economic and Social Council and the Social Commission have requested the Secretariat to compile information supplied by thirty governments pertaining to methods of social welfare administration currently in use. It may be noted that among countries not represented are Germany, Japan, and the USSR. The report contains thirty country monographs, grouped by continents. A concluding general summary lists some of the most frequently recurring problems of social welfare administration.

"This report brings together background information useful in a long-range international social welfare programme of assistance to Governments. It is hoped particularly that it may help in (a) the selection of countries of observation under the fellowship programme; (b) the selection of social welfare experts; and generally (c) the evaluation of needs and exploration of the best way of meeting them. It is hoped that it may help also in the defining of problems that call for more thorough investigation before standards of practice can usefully be recommended."

While the publication is organized in an excellent manner, there is no attempt to define social welfare or administration as such. The frontiers of the social work profession, it is learned again, are ill-determined; "different countries give different answers to the question of whether health visitors, probation officers, home teachers of the blind, housing managers, industrial welfare workers, and investigators of means and needs, are or are not social workers."

The specialized forms of social action considered as connected in some way with social welfare activities include health, education, nutrition, employment, social security (economic and non-cash services), housing, adjudication and town and country planning. Such forms of social action are frequently taken as the principal basis of organization for which social welfare activities are auxiliary.

Voluntary social services are not incorporated in the report save as they may be government connected. "Almost every government has desired to enlist widespread civic participation in the administration of social welfare activities, and has wished to leave a margin for initiative, enterprise and experiment."

Governments themselves have provided direct administration only in recent times. Two general groupings of methods have been employed, relating to either essentially "staff" or "line" organization. While there appears to be a somewhat greater tendency toward an internally consistent State policy under the latter type of administration, it may prove to be less consistent with external policy, such as that made by the head of the government, the cabinet, and the legislature. "The emphasis placed for combined social and economic reasons on one branch or another of social welfare activity may affect the structure of a country's administrative machinery. Thus specialized organs for administering income security may seem specially

needed in countries interested in governmental redistribution of consuming-power, or in capital accumulation for provision of community facilities."

On the local level, in response to the pressures from a lack of coordination and integration, experiments of the following types have been devised: interlocking committee memberships, community councils of social welfare services, unified home visiting, central indexes, local referral centers and rural social centers.

In most countries, trained social workers are not drawn into central administration. This may be related in some countries to the fact that the profession is confined to women, though not by law.

The data contained in this document are not conveniently available elsewhere. However, the outstanding significance of this report is its effort to identify human needs and forthrightly to aid in determining the most effective administrative means to serve these universal needs.

The staff and consultants of the United Nations Secretariat are to be congratulated for their contribution to international economic, occupational and political sociology.

RICHARD M. SEAMAN
State University of Iowa

Research Methods in Social Relations: With Especial Reference to Prejudice. Part One: Basic Processes. By MARIE JAHODA, MORTON DEUTSCH, and STUART W. COOK. *Part Two: Selected Techniques.* Edited by MARIE JAHODA, MORTON DEUTSCH, and STUART W. COOK. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. x, 759 pp. $6.00 ($3.75 per volume).

These two volumes, published under the auspices of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, are organized as a text for courses in research methods. The work was originally planned as a treatment of the measurement of prejudice, but was modified to present a more comprehensive exposition of methods in social science research. Traces of the original emphasis remain chiefly in the form of the materials used to illustrate various methods and techniques. Part I, *Basic Processes,* is a concise exposition of elements in the research process, ranging from the selection and formulation of research problems to the presentation and application of social research. Part II, *Selected Techniques,* is a compilation of 11 chapters by various authors, which deals in greater detail with methods reviewed in Part I. Because of the wide differences between the two volumes, it is necessary to comment upon each separately.

Part I begins with a brief description of research as process, emphasizing the contin-

uous, overlapping interplay of "steps" in research. Chapter 2 discusses the selection and formulation of a research problem. Here the student is reminded of the role of personal preferences and values; he is cautioned to reduce a problem to manageable size, to specify needed evidence, to formulate generalizable hypotheses, to "maintain a careful balance between . . . the unique configuration and the general aspects of his observations" (p. 23). Chapter 3 deals with research design and its function in a scientific inquiry "to reduce error and to economize the expenditure of effort in the collection of the relevant evidence" (p. 28). The discussion moves systematically from formulative or exploratory studies, through descriptive and diagnostic investigatory models, to experimental research. In Chapter 4, attention is turned to general problems of measurement: variability of scores, reliability, validity, and scaling. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 form a unit in which are discussed observational methods, questionnaires, interviews, projective techniques and "disguised objective tests." Chapter 8, "The Use of Available Data as Source Material," contains brief sections on use of statistical records, content analysis, and use of personal documents. Chapter 9 deals with analysis and interpretation of data: the establishment and use of classificatory categories, tabulation, statistical description, imputation of causality. In Chapter 10, an "action research" emphasis is made explicit in a discussion of how concern with application affects the research process and the presentation of results; a section on research and social policy tells the aspiring social scientist that he "must be prepared for the fact that there are nonscientific considerations which enter legitimately into the decision-making process and which interfere with or promote the application of his results" (pp. 318–19). Chapter 11 gives overly-brief but illuminating attention to the relation of research and theory; the approach is epitomized in the statement: "It is the function of theory to explain observations in such a way as to make prediction possible" (p. 337).

Three appendices conclude the volume. Appendix A contains a realistic discussion of research budgeting and of the social scientist's relation to his respondents and to the agencies or groups collaborating in research. Appendices B and C, dealing with definition and measurement of prejudice and discrimination, seem somewhat unnecessary afterthoughts.

The explicit aim of the authors to bring together on an introductory level the considerations which enter into all stages of research process has been reasonably well attained. The beginning student will find spread before him

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here a wide coverage of problems, and techniques for coping with them. Difficulties, unsolved problems, and specious solutions are frankly examined. A detailed insistence upon continuous checking of research operations against *specified* rigorous standards is surely salutary for novice and expert alike. The reviewer's chief reservation is perhaps indicated by the fact that this ambitious task is spanned in 339 pages: the brevity of treatment runs the risks of gaps and incomplete development, e.g., the section on the use of statistical records, or on the attribution of causality.

There will not be complete agreement among social scientists with the position of the authors that social research should aim to "contribute to the solution of practical problems as they arise in the contemporary world" (p. v). To this reviewer it is problematic whether basic (i.e., highly generalizable) scientific findings are always most likely to result from emphasis upon immediate practical problems. In the present period, however, there is no likelihood that most practicing social scientists will be able or willing to completely divorce their research from viable social concerns of the day.

Part II shows the familiar virtues and shortcomings of a compendium of independently written chapters. As a reference work, the volume provides convenient access to the following topics: questionnaire construction, interviewing and the selection and training of interviewers, observational methods in the field and in small groups, content analysis, sociometric analysis, panel design, community self-surveys, sample design, scaling theory, assumptions in statistical analysis. Some of the chapters are clearly formulated in introductory terms, e.g., Kornhauser's summary of guides to questionnaire construction. Other contributions are highly technical, e.g., sociometric analysis as presented by Proctor and Loomis, Stouffer's exposition of scaling, McCarthy's excellent and compact discussion of sample design, or Festinger's sketch of assumptions underlying statistical techniques. Still other chapters are clearly directed toward problems of the professional social scientist, e.g., Sheatsley's discussion of the selection and training of interviewers. This unevenness of exposition indicates that Part II will prove far less rewarding than Part I for classroom use. However, the discriminating reader will be able to select from the several chapters numerous important guides to good research practice.

For teaching courses in research methods, this work is superior to most previously available books. It would have been greatly strengthened had more space been devoted to the exposition of the detailed procedures necessary to

use the techniques; it is to be hoped that a later edition may tell the beginning student more about these vitally necessary details.

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.
Cornell University

The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach. By DONALD WEBSTER CORY. Introduction by DR. ALBERT ELLIS. New York: Greenberg–Publisher, 1951. xvii, 326 pp. $4.00.

The author of this book, writing under a pseudonym, describes himself as a happily married homosexual. His purpose is to present to the intelligent heterosexual layman a picture of the life and the problems of the homosexual as experienced and interpreted by one of them. He makes no claim to any special academic or scientific competence and addresses his book to the layman rather than to the specialist. In terms of its purpose, the reviewer is inclined to agree with the opinion expressed by Dr. Ellis in the introduction, that the book is a valuable and interesting document. It has faults, but they are eclipsed by its virtues. It is, on the whole, a cogent, well written, objective and frank defence of the homosexual and an effective plea for a more sensible and humane treatment of this type of person.

The first chapters depict the plight of the homosexual viewed as the victim of misunderstanding and discrimination on the part of the dominant heterosexual group. Homosexuals are presented as a minority group that has been consistently slandered and deprived of its legal and human rights. The author effectively points up the absurdities and contradictions in the stereotyped arguments which are so often presented as justifications for the current handling of homosexuals. The public, he points out, recognizes that homosexuals must live but is willing to deprive them of their employment in the government and elsewhere. Homosexuals who make themselves known are denounced but at the same time those that try to keep their sexual impulses secret are industriously ferreted out. The public advocates education for all but zealously expels homosexuals. It recognizes that it is worse than useless to send homosexuals to prison but still supports the barbarous state laws that make homosexuals felons.

Later chapters include descriptions of various facets of the "gay" life and the author's comments on such topics as: the Kinsey report; the relative prevalence of male and female homosexuals; the causes of homosexuality; possibilities of cure; the argot of the homosexual; and homosexuality in literature. In the final chapters the author renews his plea for a more rational and humane view of this form of sexual

expression and offers practical advice to persons who are homosexuals or who may have a homosexual child. Included in three appendices are materials concerning the attitudes and policies of the government and the Veteran's Administration with respect to this problem, excerpts from the relevant laws of the forty-eight states, and a check list of novels and dramas that deal with the homosexual theme. There is also an index.

The author's criticisms of some popular theories of homosexuality are often pertinent and sound, but his own constructive suggestions as to possible causes are neither illuminating nor original. He cites with approval the opinion of a writer who states that homosexuality may arise from any of the following four conditions: (1) hostility to the mother, (2) excessive affection for the mother, (3) hostility to the father, (4) affection for the father when he is not strongly heterosexual. The inability of the author to provide insight into the causation of homosexuality again emphasizes that engaging in a given form of behavior by no means implies ability to explain it.

This book is courageous and intelligent. If it were to be read as widely as it deserves to be it could contribute much to the general public's appreciation of the homosexual's problem and also help the homosexual to understand himself.

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH
Indiana University

BOOK NOTES

Henry Charles Carey. By ARNOLD W. GREEN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951. 218 pp. $4.00.

This work is a careful and highly competent critical appraisal of Carey the man, his sociological theories, his activities, and to a limited extent of his "school." It is made both in the light of the conditions and tendencies of the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century and with respect to the sociological significance and validity of his ideas and actions. It both expands and supplements many parts of the treatment by L. L. and Jessie Bernard in their *Origins of American Sociology* (pp. 395–457).

Green's substantial work rests not only upon Carey's own books and the biographical materials about him, but also upon an almost complete collection of Carey's pamphlets, and a sizeable array of newspaper materials, documents, and correspondence available to one working in Carey's beloved home city, Philadelphia. The examination of the tangled skein of Carey's thought includes his sociological theory, with its special interpretation of "associationism" and the related concepts of individuality, responsibility, and progress, both as an outcome of and as a prop for his activities as capitalist-promoter, militant protectionist, rabid anti-Britisher, anti-Ricardian and anti-Malthusian, and pro-immigrationist. Green grants the respectability of much of Carey's sociological theory, and regrets the oversight of it by later sociologists. He points out, however, Carey's lack of interest in empirical data, except as supports for his efforts as publicist, polemicist, and reformer, his blissful ignoring of conditions and trends that ran counter to his "theories," and "his insistence upon general principles apart from the specific contexts in which they operate."

This is a valuable contribution to the sociology of knowledge and to the history of American social thought.—J. O. HERTZLER

The Evolution of Latin American Government. By ASHER N. CHRISTENSEN. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951. xvi, 747 pp. $4.50.

Believing that the facts or the crude data on government in Latin America are already well known, Professor Christensen has been at pains to explain *why* Latin American governments all have certain common characteristics. In this excellent book of annotated readings, he and others analyze (1) the factors which "have conditioned Latin American political organization so that one encounters, almost everywhere, and at any time, strong executives, weak congresses and courts, and little or no local home-rule;" (2) the directions in which government in present day Latin America is travelling, and the significance of the new trends. It has five parts: Heritage of the Past; Basic Conditioning Factors; Constitutional Bases of Government; Organization and Institutions of Government; and Facing Contemporary Problems. Its selection of fifty-five articles, most of them outstanding, includes writings by Germán Arciniegas, Víctor Belaúnde, Charles Chapman, Asher Christensen, W. Rex Crawford, Kingsley Davis, Donald Dozer, David Efron, Russell Fitzgibbon, Manuel Gamio, C. H. Haring, Robin Humphreys, Alberto Lleras, Percy Martin, Willfred Mauck, J. Lloyd Mecham, Harry Murkland, George Sánchez, William Schurz,

Robert Shellaby, George Soule, William Stokes, Frank Tannenbaum, Charles Thomson, Hernane Tavares de Sá, Nathaniel Weyl, Arthur Whitaker, and George Wythe. We have been waiting a long time for a volume such as this.—JOHN BIESANZ

Nomlaki Ethnology. By WALTER GOLDSCHMIDT. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951. v, 143 pp. $1.50.

When Walter Goldschmidt undertook in 1936 to gather information about the Nomlaki, an Indian tribe of north-central California, he found that a population estimated a hundred years ago at 2,000 had shrunk to a small remnant, and that tribal life was completely shattered. Yet, by skillful use of historical materials, comparative data, and accounts from the few living informants, Goldschmidt has produced a convincing, informative and very readable account of the way of life of these people.

The Nomlaki lived in villages with populations of 25 to 200 under the leadership of a chief. Except for the wives who came to the village by marriage, the residents of any village were kinsmen, members of the same paternal clan. There was a tendency for chieftainship to be inherited in the male line, though an unsuccessful leader could be deposed. The homes of the villagers surrounded the chief's house, with their doorways opening toward it. The author sees the chief as an economic equalizer, for the person who returned late and hungry could always obtain food at the chief's home.

Though the Nomlaki were hunters and gatherers, without any domesticated plants or animals, their culture emphasized wealth, shell money and trade. Even fire was a salable commodity on occasion! And, in spite of the importance of wealth, the property of a person was usually destroyed at his death. War and secret society complexes were also highly developed.

In this monograph Dr. Goldschmidt goes far beyond a mere descriptive account. He endeavors always to show the relations of the different aspects of the culture, the part, for instance, that wealth plays in the establishment of status or in the maintenance of law and order. Finally, in his summary, he attempts to convey the underlying imperatives and essence of Nomlaki culture by naming nine "generalized themes" which pervade it. In this work the author has showed talent for felicitous writing, and for organizing and interpreting social science material.—MORRIS EDWARD OPLER

State Economic Areas: A Description of the Procedure Used in Making a Functional Grouping of the Counties of the United States. Prepared by DONALD J. BOGUE for the U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951. iv, 96 pp. $1.00.

One of the new features of the 1950 Censuses of Agriculture, Population, and Housing of great interest to sociologists is the presentation of many types of data by State economic areas. The 501 such areas delineated in this publication consist of single counties or groups of counties having similar social, economic, physiographic, and climatic characteristics. They have been created so that detailed data can be reported for units smaller than states when it is not practical to do so by counties because of the small number of cases or the prohibitive cost. The 501 areas are combined into standard sets of 361 and 443 areas for tabulating agricultural data and population and other social data, respectively. A special class of State economic areas is the metropolitan State economic areas. Their inclusion makes possible the tabulation of statistics for each of the aggregates of metropolitan population in the United States. So that comparisons with earlier census data are possible, the standard metropolitan areas, delineated by a Federal Interagency Committee, have been adopted with only minor modification. The creation of these 501 new State areas represents another step in the efforts of the Census Bureau to report data by meaningful socio-economic units as well as political ones, and in units smaller than the nation, region, or state.—JEROME K. MYERS

Cost of Medical Care: The Expenditures for Medical Care of 455 Families in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1947–1948. By EMILY H. HUNTINGTON. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951. xvi, 146 pp. $2.50.

This study of the costs of medical care experienced by families with a "moderate income level," issued under the auspices of The Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics, University of California, is a very careful analysis which tends mainly to document the deficiencies of current voluntary health care insurance plans.

Random samples of 148 milk wagon drivers, 157 grocery clerks, and 150 painters were interviewed with elaborate schedules to obtain data on family composition, employment history, income, illness, expenditures for medical care, and dental care and expenses, for all family

members during the year studied. The author, who is Chairman of The Heller Committee, presents her data in 38 tables and in chapters on "Characteristics and Income of the Families," "Medical Expenditures," "Illnesses," "Prepaid Medical Care," and "Dentistry." In the final chapter, "Total Expenditures for Health: The Problem and Possible Solutions," she concludes that for low- and moderate-income families "The only way that real protection can be accomplished is through a system of compulsory health insurance" (p. 105). The report is rounded out by appendices on methods, schedule forms, classification of illness, comparisons with U. S. Census and Federal Reserve Board Survey of Consumer Finances data, and a comparison by Mary Gorringe Luck with the 1928–1931 study by the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care.

Perhaps the most startling disclosure is the fact that these families spent 7.5 per cent of total income for all types of medical and dental care during the schedule year rather than the 4 to 5 per cent reported in earlier investigations. The entire study, but this finding particularly, serves to emphasize the need for an adequate nation-wide sample study of the same problem. Meanwhile, anyone interested in medical economics should certainly familiarize himself with this work.—EDGAR A. SCHULER

The Perón Era. By ROBERT J. ALEXANDER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. x, 239 pp. $3.50.

Much of the basic information for *The Perón Era* was collected by Dr. Alexander, Assistant Professor of Economics at Rutgers, while visiting Argentina late in 1946, gathering data for a history of the country's labor movement. The book deals with Perón's rise to power; his politics of dictatorship and new constitution; his economic program; his relations with Communists, farmers, Church, Evita, Army, labor, and the universities. The last quarter of the book covers foreign relations. "Unless the United States is careful," Alexander concludes, "she will one day wake up to find a united front of totalitarian military dictatorships among the nations to the South, proudly headed and dominated by . . . Perón."

The Perón Era's chief value lies in its timeliness; it examines an era still in the making. It is interesting and informative. Unfortunately, the volume includes little documentation and historical background. The book deals more with Perón than with a definitive analysis of the era and of the entire social movement within which Peronismo was able to develop.—JOHN BIESANZ

Economics of Income and Consumption. By HELEN G. CANOYER and ROLAND S. VAILE. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1951. xvii, 355 pp. $4.50.

This is an excellent college text for beginning students in economics of consumption and adequately fulfills its role. Twenty short chapters, well illustrated, take up the basic concepts of the production-consumption economy, explain how they work, and carry them through to some of the influences upon them of the welfare state. The perennial implications of economic laws are pointed out each step of the way. The authors feel that economic literacy is basic to wise government and seek to promote both ends. It is intended for freshmen and sophomores and may be used equally well for those who have finished a first course in economics as well as beginners. While such a book naturally holds its objectives to limited given purposes, it is amazing how much pertinent information on the subject is packed capably within its covers. Since it exists for teaching purposes it attempts to set forth no new theories or discoveries. Beneath it, however, one discerns a note of considerable wonder at the rapidity of movement of many of the forces affecting the economic life of the average consumer.—CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Police and Children; A Study of New York City's Juvenile Aid Bureau. By THE CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN OF NEW YORK CITY, Inc. New York: The Citizen's Committee on Children of New York City, Inc., 1951. 83 pp. $1.00.

This report includes an excellent description of the history, organization, and functions of the New York City Police Department's Juvenile Aid Bureau, an evaluation of its policies, and recommendations for certain policy changes. The JAB receives complaints involving minors, adjusts the least serious cases in brief contacts, and prepares case histories on the more serious ones which are likely to be held for court action or referred to other agencies for treatment. About 500 of the 17,000 cases handled per year are retained for treatment by the JAB's Service Unit. The report is critical of the treatment efforts of the Service Unit, recommends that it be abolished, and maintains that the staff members are not adequately trained to engage in therapy—that they "do not have a sufficient grasp of basic casework principles essential to any helping process." This criticism of police participation in treatment, although it is fairly common in the literature on delinquency, is based on the assumption that

knowledge of casework principles is a prerequisite for successful treatment. This assumption has not been verified by empirical investigations and the report presents no data to substantiate it. Until reliable studies are made of the comparative effectiveness of different types of "treatment," the issue probably will continue to be a controversial one.—CLARENCE C. SCHRAG

Marriage Education and Counseling. Edited by ALPHONSE H. CLEMENS. Washington, D.C. The Catholic University of America Press, 1951. vi, 153 pp. $2.50.

Fourteen brief papers selected from the Workshops on Marriage and the Family and from the Cana Institute conducted at Catholic University of America each year from 1947 to 1950, are collected together in this small volume. These papers are indicative of the amount and direction of interest in family life education among Catholic educators and members of the Clergy. Part I, on Marriage Education, will be of particular value to those interested in the Catholic point of view toward marriage and education for marriage. Part II, on Marriage Counseling, is intended to help guide those members of the Catholic faith who perform marriage counselling functions.—CHARLES E. BOWERMAN

Survey of Social Science (Third Edition). By MARION B. SMITH with the editorial collaboration of CARROLL R. DAUGHERTY. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951. xxii, 743 pp. $5.00.

The third edition of this text differs very little from the second which appeared in 1945. Chapter 3, "The Psychological Nature of Man," is approached through a discussion of *original nature* and *human nature*, terms which did not appear in the previous edition. The treatment of labor and welfare legislation has been somewhat expanded in Chapter 26, and the chapter on international organization has been enlarged into two chapters. The preface implies that changes have been made in other chapters, which do not, in fact, appear. However, considerable effort has been made to bring the tables up to date, and the more obviously dated photographs in the former edition have been replaced. Many new titles are listed in the bibliographies at the close of each chapter and older titles have been deleted.

It should be apparent that anyone who has already formed an opinion of the book will find little reason for changing his mind after looking at the "revision." It remains freely eclectic, long on facts, and short on theory. There is no discussion of scientific method or of the special problems of the social scientist. While the approach is "institutional", there is no effort to relate the various chapters to a common institutional frame of reference. One's opinion of the seriousness of these deficiencies will depend on his view as to: (1) whether such matters should receive much consideration in an unspecialized course for young undergraduates, and (2) whether such tasks are properly the responsibility of the author or of the teacher.—J. RICHARD WILMETH

Heaven on Earth: Utopian Communities in America, 1680–1880. By MARK HOLLOWAY. New York: Library Publishers, 1951. xvi, 240 pp. $4.75.

This is a short but very readable social history of the numerous sectarian and utopian communities with which various groups in America have experimented since the earliest Colonial periods. Through the analysis the author seeks an answer to the question: What can be learned about the merits of different schemes for social reform?

The bulk of the study is devoted to the communities of the Labadists, Millenarians under Kelpius, Dunkers, Shakers, Rappites, Zoarites, Owenites, Fourierists, Jansonists, Inspirationists of Amana, Perfectionists of Oneida, and Icarians. In each case, an account is given of its rise and decline, with the emphasis on the underlying doctrines, leadership, organization, and problems. Some effort is also made to relate these movements to contemporary environmental conditions and events, and to other utopian enterprises of the time. The author concludes that the utopians were undeniably successful in creating levels of life higher than those of the "outside world," but achieved only limited success in their communistic programs. The criteria employed in these evaluations remain unclear.

No new material is apparent, but a few suggestive hypotheses on the reasons for the success of certain sectarian groups appear in the concluding chapters. The chief merit of the work lies in its balanced, objective and sympathetic summaries of a diversity of data on the utopian communities.—S. FRANK MIYAMOTO

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(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)

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